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an Aboriginal language
of the Northern Territory*

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A grammar of Jingulu, an Aboriginal language of the Northern Territory

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to the Jingili people, and to the memory of my mother, Savina Pensalfini. *Karalungka lurrbu wurrurruku, durru bayuwurrurruku.*

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Preface

This book is intended as a thorough description of the Jingulu language as spoken by the handful of speakers remaining in the Northern Territory during the mid to late 1990s. The description is based on material which I collected during three field trips in the middle of 1995, the middle of 1996, and late 1998. The material from the first two trips contributed to my doctoral dissertation (Pensalfini 1997), and this grammar is in large part a revision of that dissertation. However, the revision is significant, as not only does it contain new material gathered in 1998 and new insights into the language which I have gained since completing my dissertation, but also the material is presented primarily as description, while my dissertation contained lengthy theoretical analyses and discussions. While a working knowledge of descriptive terminology is essential to understanding sections of this grammatical description, I have tried as much as possible to describe the phenomena in terms which do not presume any formal training in theoretical linguistics.

Chapter 1 focuses on the socio-historical context in which the language is spoken, including estimates of traditional area, number of speakers, and genetic and cultural affiliations. Chapter 2 is devoted to Jingulu phonology, from the phoneme inventory and phonotactics to a spectacular system of vowel harmony and some interesting facts on reduplication. Chapter 3 outlines the parts of speech of Jingulu as I understand them, and argues for the particular labels and categories that I assume in following chapters. Chapter 4 discusses Jingulu syntax, from simple verbal and non-verbal predication to the encoding of dependent and conjoined clauses. Chapters 5 and 6 are expositions of the morphology of Jingulu nominal and verbal words respectively. Chapter 7 contains a few exemplary texts, glossed and translated into English. Throughout the grammar I have preferred to provide more sentence examples rather than fewer (particularly where I am less than certain about the accuracy of my own description), to provide readers with a sense of what Jingulu sentences are actually like beyond what can be gleaned from prose description, and to provide future researchers with organised material with which to build their own hypotheses and analyses.

This grammar contains no word list or dictionary. There exists a separate Jingulu dictionary (Pensalfini in preparation), which lists all the words which I was able to verify along with syntactic, morphological and ethnographic information about the words, and examples of each of the words used in a sentence. This other work also includes a large body of glossed and translated Jingulu texts with extensive commentary on relevant cultural and geographical matters.

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Three people are deserving of particular mention, without whose work and support this grammar would not have been written at all: Neil Chadwick, whose work on Jingulu in the 1960s and 1970s in particular underlies all of my own work; Alan Dench, whose teaching first inspired me to work with Australian languages; and the late Ken Hale, who initially recorded Jingulu in 1960, and whose kindness, patience, and unending enthusiasm for language, and for Australian languages in particular, re-energised me to continue my work on numerous occasions.

Abbreviations

The following is a list of the abbreviations used in glosses and translations throughout the book.

1, 2, 3	first, second, third persons	CAUS	causative
A	Agentive	co-V	co-verbal root
ABL	Ablative case	come	present, centrifugal
ABS	Absolutive case	DAT	Dative case
ACC	Accusative case	DEM	demonstrative
Adj	adjective	did	past, motion neutral
ADJ	adjectival nominaliser	DIST	distant past
Adv	adverb	dl	dual
ADV	adverbialiser/intensifier	do	present, motion neutral
Agr	agreement marker	DS	different subject
AgrO	object agreement	EMPH	emphatic
AgrS	subject agreement	ERG	Ergative case
ALL	Allative case	Exc	exclusive
ANAPH	anaphoric	f	feminine gender
anim	animate	FOC	contrastive focus
AP	adjectival phrase	FUT	future, motion neutral
C	consonant	GEN	genitive (pronouns only)
came	past, centrifugal	go	present, centripetal
CATAPH	cataphoric	HAB	habitual aspect

HAVING	Comitative case	pre-V	pre-verbal adverbial
hi	high (vocalic place feature)	PRIV	Privative case
Inc	inclusive	PROX	proximal, near speaker
INDEF	indefinite	PST	past tense
IMPV	imperative mood	PURP	purpose complementiser
INST	Instrumental case	Q	question particle
INV	inverse marker	rd	round (vocalic manner)
IRR	Irrealis mood	RED	reduplication
kin	special kin term	REFL	reflexive
Kr	Kriol	REL	NP-relative complementiser
Kuw	Kuwarrangu dialect	RRA	centripetal, additional argument
LEST	lest, 'so as not to ...'	S	subject
lit.	literally	SBU	stress-bearing unit
LOC	Locative case	sg	singular
m	masculine gender	sp	species
n	neuter gender	SS	same subject
N	noun, nominal	TC	T-relative complementiser
NEG	negation particle	through	adverbialiser, intensifier
NOM	Nominative case	time	temporal adverbialiser
NOML	nominaliser	TR	transitive
NP	nominal phrase	v	vegetable gender
O	object	V	verb, core verb, verbal root; vowel
P	adposition, patientive	V2	pre-verbal adverbial
pl	plural	VOC	vocative form
POSS	possessive (Kriol)	VP	verb phrase

went	past, centripetal	#	semantically aberrant (but grammatical) sentence
will.come	future, centrifugal	?	form of questionable grammaticality
will.go	future, centripetal	???	function unknown
*	ungrammatical form		

1 *The language and its speakers*

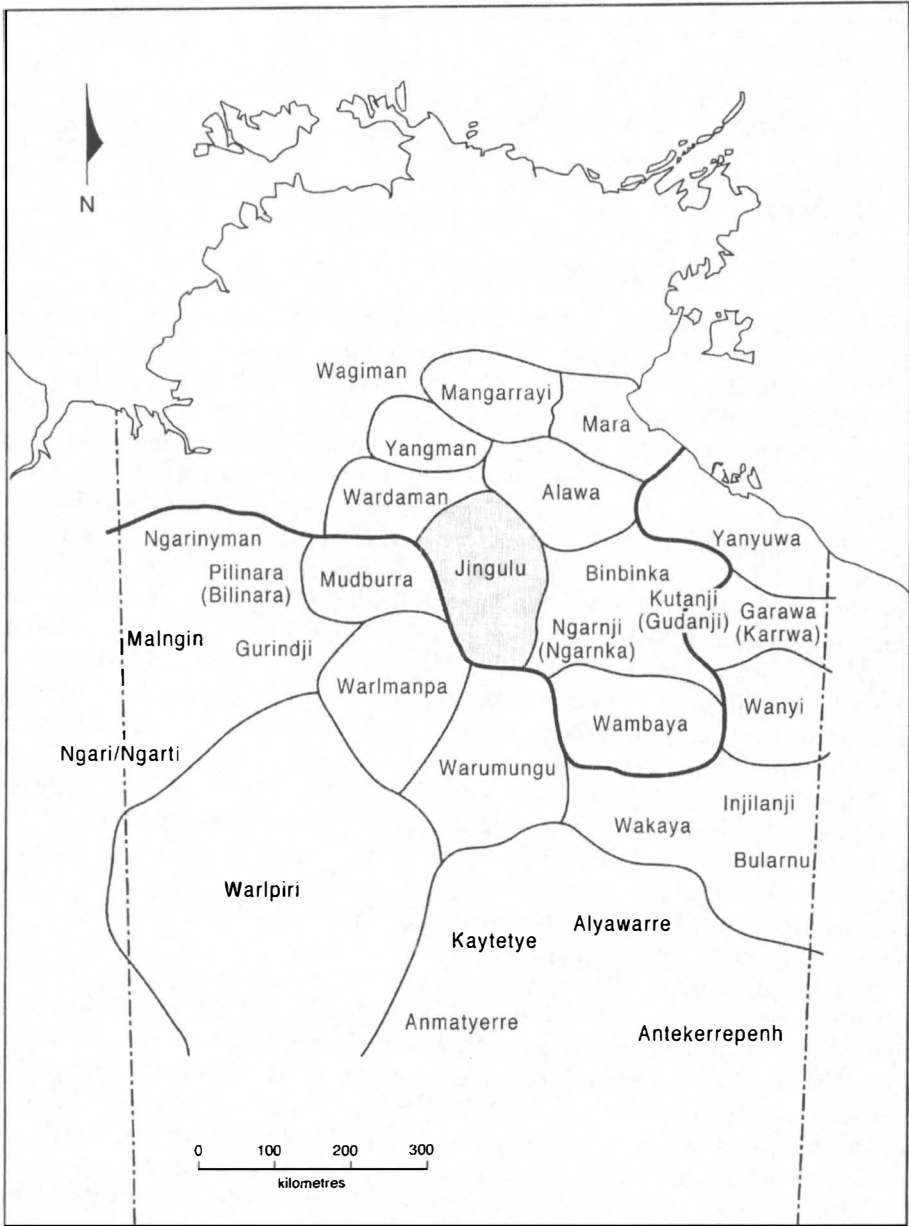
1.1 History and current status

1.1.1 Territory, genealogy and surrounding languages

The Jingulu language is the traditional language of the Jingili people, whose territory in recent history centred around what is now the modern township of Elliott, in Australia's Northern Territory. According to Chadwick (1975) and the accounts of most of the Jingili people with whom I worked, Jingili territory extended from the area of Daly Waters in the north to just south of Powell Creek in the south, from west of Lake Woods to almost as far east as Anthony's Lagoon station and the source of Newcastle Creek. Mathews (1901) gave the language much broader boundaries, extending north to the Katherine River, south to Tennant Creek, west into Western Australia and east as far as the Gulf of Carpentaria. However, Mathews was not distinguishing between Jingulu (which he calls 'Chingalee') and other non-Pama-Nyungan languages with similar grammatical structure. The maps below show this territory: Map 1 shows the location of Jingulu and neighbouring language groups. More detail of Jingili territory is given in Map 2, with English names of townships and geographic locations given in regular typescript, Jingulu names in capitals and language names in capitals and bold typescript.

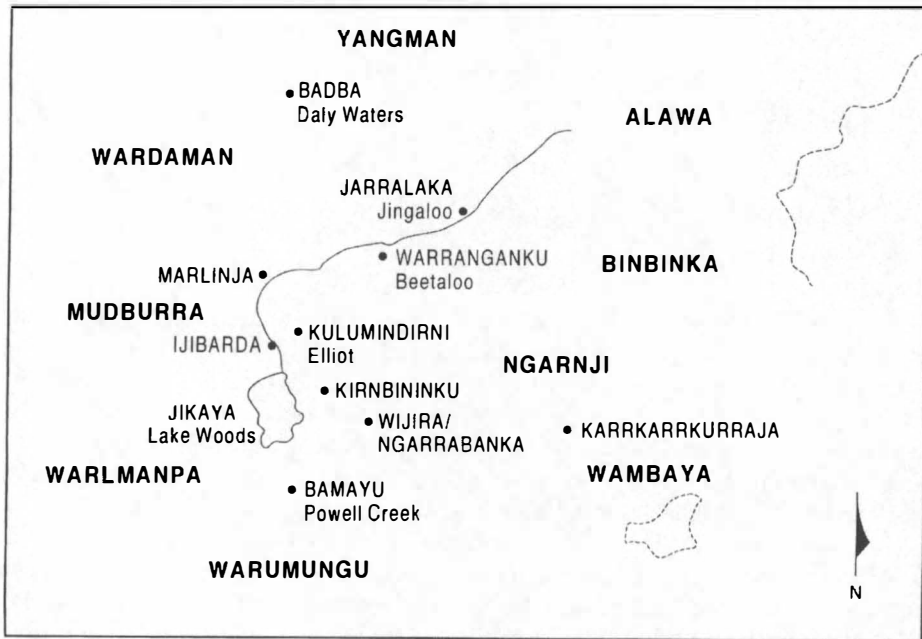
There is often some confusion, when referring to this language, between the uses of the terms 'Jingili', 'Jingila', 'Jingulu', and 'Jingilu'. The people are referred to collectively as 'Jingili', but individually a Jingili male is a 'Jingila' (a Jingili woman is referred to as 'Jingilirni', the feminine form of 'Jingila'). 'Jingulu' is the name of the language traditionally spoken by the Jingili, and, as best I can determine, 'Jingilu' is a variant of 'Jingulu', the language name.

The Jingili people with whom I worked give a clear and consistent account of relationships between themselves and other peoples in the area. According to this history, the Jingili were the original traditional occupants of the area shown in Map 2, the Mudburra having arrived from the west in late precolonial or early colonial times. The Mudburra, who now greatly outnumber the Jingili in and around Elliott, peacefully cohabited with the Jingili, and the two groups became culturally fused. The Jingili continue to maintain cultural and ceremonial links with peoples to the east as far as the Yanyuwa on the Gulf coast, but not with peoples speaking related languages to the north. Later arrivals to the area include the Warumungu and Warlmanpa, who are viewed by many older Jingili with some suspicion. There are also stories of Jingili people assisting their Wambaya 'cousins' in fighting the Wakaya to the south-east.



Map 1: Jingulu and surrounding language groups¹
Pama-Nyungan languages are south of the broad line,
non-Pama-Nyungan languages are to the north.

¹ This map is based on Pensalfini (2001); the original was created by Jenny Green.



Map 2: Jingili country

In terms of linguistic kinship, Jingulu is the westernmost of the Jingili-Wambayic language family (also called the West Barkly group), which consists of Jingulu, Wambaya, Gudanji, Binbinka and Ngarnka (also called Ngarnji). According to Nordlinger (1998a), Wambaya, Gudanji and Binbinka can be considered dialects of a single language, while Ngarnka and Jingulu are separate languages, with Jingulu being the least similar to the others. Chadwick's (1978) lexicostatistical results, based on a 100-item word list, are given below:

Table 1.1: Percentage cognates on 100-item count (from Chadwick 1978)

	Jingulu	Ngarnka	Wambaya	Gudanji
Binbinka	21%	61%	69%	88%
Gudanji	21%	62%	78%	
Wambaya	29%	60%		
Ngarnka	28%			

The Djingili-Wambayic languages are most closely related to the Yirram languages (Jaminjung, Nungali, and Ngaliwurru), together with which they form the Mindi subgroup (proposed in Chadwick 1984). These languages are non-Pama-Nyungan, and the West Barkly languages are surrounded, and indeed mixed with, Pama-Nyungan languages to the west (Ngumpin languages including Mudburra and Gurindji) and south (Warumungu, Wakaya) and unrelated non-Pama-Nyungan languages to the east (Karrwa, Wanyi) and north (Alawa, Wardaman), as shown in Map 1.

The geographical distribution of people in the Barkly and immediate surrounds has led to an enormous amount of borrowing between the languages, and lexicostatistical counts based on word lists gathered in the 1990s demonstrate this. Counts in Pensalfini 2001, based on the Swadesh 200-word list (from Dyen, Kruskal, and Black 1997) show the following results:

Table 1.2: Percentage cognates on 200-item count

	Jingulu	Mudburra	Yirram
Wambaya	34%	24%	19%
Yirram	26%	36%	
Mudburra	71%		

This shows that geographical proximity and cohabitation among speakers of various languages has resulted in a great deal of lexical borrowing between languages, to the point where genetic relatedness is somewhat obscured in these counts. Similarity of grammatical structures is more likely to reveal genetic relatedness in this area, though there would appear to have been a significant amount of diffusion in this respect as

well. Jingulu, for instance, shows the effects of areal diffusion of grammatical features in having internal reduplication (see §2.5.3), morphological marking of discourse prominence (see §5.3.3.3.1), and possibly switch reference morphology (see §4.2.2.6). All of these properties occur in geographically contiguous areas which do not coincide with genetic boundaries.

Despite the large number of vocabulary items in Jingulu of apparent Mudburra origins and the dominance of Mudburra people in Jingili country, Jingulu appears to have retained most of its non-Pama-Nyungan vocabulary over the last century, resulting in a high degree of synonymy. Of the 197 items listed in Mathews (1901), 162 (eighty-two per cent) are recognised by modern-day speakers of Jingulu, though some are no longer given as the 'preferred' word and there has been some minimal semantic shift.¹ Mathews' word list also indicates that vocabulary sharing between Jingulu and Mudburra was already widespread at the end of the nineteenth century.

Of the Jingili-Wambayic languages, all of them severely endangered, Wambaya and Jingulu have the greatest number of speakers (Nordlinger 1998a suggests there are some 15 to 20 competent speakers of Wambaya, and my own investigations suggest some 12 to 15 competent speakers of Jingulu; see §1.2.1). Nordlinger estimates about half a dozen speakers of Gudanji, and no speakers of Binbinka. In 1996, I personally met and worked with what would appear to have been the last two full speakers of Ngarnka, who passed away in 1998.

1.1.2 Typological affiliation

Jingulu is a highly inflecting language, with extensive verbal and nominal morphology. Nouns inflect for gender and case, and optionally for number and animacy. Verbs have a complex agreement system indicating both subject and object, and also distinguish three tenses and some aspectual and modal distinctions. There is little or no incorporation, however, so the language cannot be considered polysynthetic in the true sense.

Nominal morphology is entirely suffixing, and it could be argued that verbal morphology is also suffixing, though I argue in Chapter 3 that agreement is actually prefixing.

There is complete freedom of word order within clauses, and extensive null anaphora, with verbs being the only obligatory component of most clauses. Jingulu can therefore be considered a non-configurational language in the most common usages of this term.

¹ This figure might have been higher if not for that fact that some of Mathews' transcriptions are undecipherable in terms of what the Jingulu forms could conceivably be. Mathews' forms are often phonologically inaccurate, though these errors in transcription are quite understandable coming from an untrained English speaker. In addition, the verb forms in the word list, the section which deviates the most from the language as I encountered it in the 1990s, are sometimes inflected and sometimes uninflected, and the inflections not consistent.

1.1.3 Previous descriptions

The first collections of Jingulu material that I am aware of are Gillen's (1894–98) and Mathews' (1901) word list and some ten minutes on audio tape and twenty pages of handwritten notes collected by Ken Hale in 1960, during his 1959–60 survey project. Neil Chadwick collected a good deal of data on Jingulu in 1966 and 1967, which were analysed in Chadwick (1975), which represents the first and, until this project, only in-depth study of Jingulu. Hale referred to the language as 'Tjingilu' and Chadwick as 'Djingili', both of them using a digraph for the initial palatal stop.

Chadwick's (1975) grammar is an excellent exposition of the morphological complexity of Jingulu, with accurate descriptions of the phonology and the function of most of the morphemes. The description of the phonology and morphology presented in this grammar do not vary greatly from Chadwick's own, except where usage has changed (for instance the regularisation of Ergative case morphology discussed in §5.3.3.1.1 and the rise of focus-marking discussed in §5.3.3.3.1). However, this grammar differs greatly from Chadwick's work in terms of analysis of the morphology, and in including detailed description and analysis of the syntax of Jingulu, including complex sentences. This grammar was also based on a much larger body of texts and sentences than was Chadwick's.

According to the Ethnologue (Grimes 1992), names/spellings for Jingulu include: Chingalee, Chungaloo, Djingila, Djingili, Jingali, Jingulu, Lee, Tchingalee, Tjingilu. The name in use currently, used by linguists and community alike for almost two decades, is 'Jingulu', following the orthography of Ulamari and Chadwick (1979).

1.1.4 *Jingulu, Mudburra, Kuwarrangu, Kuwirrinji and Kriol—the languages of the Jingili*

As mentioned in the previous section, during the early years of European occupation of the territory, or possibly just before it, the Jingili intermarried with Mudburra people who came from the west. Mudburra is a Ngumpin language (and thus of the Pama-Nyungan family) and not related to Jingulu at all. Mudburra is generally recognised as having two dialects, Eastern and Western. Eastern Mudburra is spoken in Jingili country and its speakers are culturally fused with the Jingili. This dialect is called 'Mudburra' by Jingulu speakers. The Western dialect is spoken around Top Springs and other areas in which the speakers would associate themselves culturally more with Gurindji people than with Jingili people. Jingulu speakers refer to this dialect of Mudburra as 'Kuwirrinji', even though linguistically the variety is distinct from Gurindji proper.

There is no hard evidence to support this, but my own suspicions (echoed in part by Robert Hoogenraad, pers. comm.) are that the activities of Europeans in the desert regions to the west and south, including the establishment and construction of the overland telegraph, forced desert peoples to move into surrounding areas including Jingili territory, so that the initial phases of this cultural fusion may have taken place prior to the actual invasion of the area by European people but as a result of their settlement of other areas.

The resulting mixing of Mudburra and Jingili people produced a cultural group who are referred to (by themselves in many cases, and by older Jingili) as 'Kuwarnangu', distinct from either Jingili or Mudburra. Kuwarnangu households, until recently, would have been places where Mudburra and Jingulu were spoken alongside one another, and there was a great deal of lexical borrowing between languages in these households, with the result that it is possible to identify Kuwarnangu dialects of both Mudburra and Jingulu. Essentially, Kuwarnangu Jingulu is that Jingulu spoken in the camps at Elliott and Marlinja (Newcastle Waters), and Kuwarnangu Mudburra is spoken in households of mixed Jingili-Mudburra descent (many to most of the households in the Elliott camps and Marlinja). In contrast to Kuwarnangu, Elliott/Marlinja Mudburra people identify the Mudburra spoken in Top Springs and surrounds as 'Kuwirrinji' (Gurindji), while the Jingulu spoken at Beetaloo station, Jingaloo station and other areas away from Elliott and Marlinja is recognised as 'Jingulu' or 'proper Jingulu', which I shall refer to as the Warranganku (Beetaloo) dialect.

The label 'Kuwarnangu' may derive from the Wardaman word for 'south', *gorrong*, and originate as an ethnonym meaning 'southerner', much like *Karranga*, *Karrangpurru* and possibly even *Kuwirrinji* (Patrick McConvell, pers. comm.).

Aside from borrowings of Mudburra words into Jingulu (which are either 'Jingilised' by addition of appropriate gender suffixes or borrowed wholesale), there are a couple of minor differences between Kuwarnangu Jingulu and Warranganku Jingulu. One difference is concerned with choice of part of speech for certain stage-level predicates. As shown in Chapter 3, roots combine with either verbal or nominal inflection to form words. Roots denoting entities or permanent properties typically combine with nominal inflection, while roots denoting activities typically combine with verbal inflection. With stage-level predicates, such as 'sleepy', illustrated in (1.1), the Warranganku dialect prefers the verbal option (in (1.1a)), while the Kuwarnangu dialect prefers the nominal (adjectival) option (in (1.1b)).

- (1.1) a. *Bininja ngindaniki kululukarra-ju.*
 man this(m) be.sleepy-do
 'This man is sleepy.'
- b. *Kululukirri-rni ngininiki nayurni.*
 sleepy-f this(f) woman
 'This woman is sleepy.'

Stress patterns differ to a small degree between the Kuwarnangu and Warranganku dialects. As discussed in §2.3, Jingulu typically stresses the penultimate syllable,

while Pama-Nyungan languages stress the initial. Some three-syllable words which Warranganku speakers stress on the second syllable (e.g. *damangka* 'head') are stressed on the first syllable by Kuwarrangu speakers (*dámangka*).

Another major dialect difference relates to the use of possessive (Genitive) pronouns. As discussed in §5.2.3, the possessor can appear either in a gender-unspecified (unaffixed) form (homophonous with the Accusative (object) pronoun), or else with a suffix which agrees in gender with the possessed item. In this regard, the Kuwarrangu dialect prefers gender-unspecified pronouns (as in (1.2b)), while the Warranganku dialect prefers agreeing forms (as in (1.2a)). Very rarely, speakers of the Kuwarrangu dialect will give a Nominative pronoun with the Dative marker suffixed to it in the place of a Genitive pronoun (1.2c).

- (12) a. *Ngarri-rnini bibirni marliya-ju.*
 1sg.GEN-f o.sibling(f) sick-do
 'My sister is sick.'
- b. *Ngarru bibirni marliya-ju.*
 1sg.ACC o.sibling(f) sick-do
 'My sister is sick.'
- c. *ngaya-rna-rni kirda-rni*
 1sg.NOM-DAT-FOC father-FOC
 'my father'

Where some Kuwarrangu words have initial /ng/, Warranganku Jingulu has initial /w/ (which can be dropped, as can all word-initial glides):

- (13) a. Kuw.: *ngankurrkbi* Warr.: *(w)arnburrkbi*
 b. Kuw.: *ngamburrijini* Warr.: *(w)arnburrijinimi*

These words are probably borrowed, given that /ng/ → /w/ is a fairly common change, while /w/ → /ng/ is not (and assuming that the Warranganku dialect is generally more conservative). As also exemplified in (1.3b), Kuwarrangu sometimes simplifies what are heterorganic nasal+stop clusters in the Warranganku dialect to homorganic clusters.

Many of the older speakers are aware of this dialect difference and view the Warranganku dialect as 'proper Jingulu' even though they speak Kuwarrangu. In (1.4), the speaker starts out in Kuwarrangu, then partially 'corrects' himself, finishing in Warranganku.

- (14) *Ngaanku jakardi-ka ... bila-ka ngaanki-rni ngayingi*
 2sg.ACC mother-f.kin.DAT mother-f.kin.DAT 2sg.GEN-f 3sg.f.GEN
kuka nyami-rni ngaanku jurdalya.
 grandpa DEM-FOC 2sg.ACC half.cousin
 'Your mother's ... mother's maternal grandmother's brother is your half-cousin.'

Prior to the ellipsis in (1.4), the speaker uses the Accusative form *ngaanku* for the possessive pronoun and the Kuwarrangu root for 'mother' /*jakardi-*/, but after the ellipsis he uses the Warranganku root /*bila-*/ for 'mother' and the agreeing Genitive pronoun *ngaankirni*. After the pause (comma), the speaker switches back to using the typically Kuwarrangu Accusative pronoun *ngaanku* in the possessive function.

Kriol is now the dominant linguistic code of both Mudburra and Jingulu speakers. This language, spoken by over 15 000 people over an area of some 350 000 square kilometres throughout the Top End from Western Queensland through to the Kimberley region of Western Australia (Sandefur 1982), with wide regional variation, is a first language for many Jingili, including for some fluent Jingulu speakers, and a second or third language for most others. A basic descriptions of Kriol can be found in Sandefur 1981 and Sandefur 1991. The label 'Kriol' is not much in use in the Barkly region, and certainly not among the speakers of the language itself, who call it either 'Pidgin' or, more commonly among fluent Jingulu speakers themselves, 'English'.

There is considerable code-mixing between Jingulu and Kriol in texts, though not very much in elicited sentences. Some different examples of this are given in (1.5). Sentence (1.5c) is more properly described as mixing between Jingulu and English, rather than Kriol.

- (15) a. *Yu dirndi garra kurrubardi miss-im nya-ardi.*
 2sg shoot POSS boomerang miss-tr 2sg-HAB
 'If you throw a boomerang at it you'll miss it.'
- b. *No. somebody ... Ngina-niki ya-ju ngawu-mbili, karalu-mbili*
 NEG somebody that(f)-PROX 3sg-do home-LOC ground-LOC
kilyirri, miyi- yu krash-im hole and find-im and kill-im.
 dig kill 2sg scratch-TR hole and find-TR and kill/hit-TR
 'No, it stays in its home. You'd have to dig in the ground and kill it.'
- c. *Wel yu garra warlaku, warlaku at murrngu-mbili it got bujikardi-rni.*
 wel 2sg POSS dog dog at root-LOC it got cat-FOC
 'If you have a dog it will go to the base of the tree that has a cat in it.'

The Kriol parts of the sentences in (1.5) are underlined, a convention I have used throughout this grammar. One interesting aspect of these mixed sentences is the appearance of verbal roots without inflection, such as *dirndi* 'shoot' in (1.5a) or *kilyirri* 'dig' and *miyi* 'kill' in (1.5b). This is not normally permitted in (either dialect of) Jingulu, but is apparently acceptable in the basilectal mixed code. Note the double

marking of adpositional relations in (1.5c), where the location relation between the dog and the tree root is marked both with the English preposition *at* and the Jingulu Locative suffix /-mbili/.

1.2 Status of the language

1.2.1 Number and age of speakers

As mentioned in §1.1.1, there are probably some twelve to fifteen fully fluent speakers of Jingulu, the youngest of whom is in her fifties. Less than half of these are speakers of Jingulu as a first language, the rest of them having learned Jingulu as children, as a result of moving to Jingili communities or working and living in close proximity with Jingulu speakers. About half of the fluent speakers live within traditional Jingili territory, at Jingaloo, Beetaloo, Marlinja, or Ucharonidge stations, or in one of the camps flanking the Elliott township. The rest live in camps, homes for the elderly, or with family members in Tennant Creek, Katherine, Anthony's Lagoon, or Darwin. In addition to these fully fluent speakers, there are about twenty people, all over the age of forty, who can speak Jingulu with some competence, but these people do not have full control of the morphology, particularly verbal agreement, and Mudburra words and phrases are extremely common in their spoken Jingulu. There are probably another twenty or so people aged thirty and above who can recognise, and to varying degrees understand, spoken Jingulu.

These figures are all significantly lower than the estimates provided by Robert Hoogenraad (pers. comm., based on his 1991 survey of the Barkly), which was also noted by Rachel Nordlinger (1998a) with regard to Hoogenraad's estimates of Wambaya speakers. This situation arises because it is often assumed (by those providing Hoogenraad with information) that affiliation and ability to speak the language go hand in hand, so that if a person is a Jingila, he will of necessity speak Jingulu. Those people who are Jingili will often also claim to speak Jingulu when they cannot, fearing that their inability to speak the language will diminish their status as Jingili. I worked with one Jingila, for instance, whom Hoogenraad's survey listed as a fluent speaker of Jingulu, but who could not remember the Jingulu words for any body part other than 'hand' (not 'nose', nor 'mouth', nor even 'head').

It must be pointed out that while there are some thirty or so people who can speak passable Jingulu in varying degrees of fluency, *nobody* regularly speaks Jingulu today. Indeed, the Jingulu language is now spoken only in linguistic fieldwork situations (though many Jingulu words are used in the Kuwarrangu dialect of Mudburra, which is still spoken, and in the local varieties of English). The major reason for this is that all of the speakers of Jingulu as a first language live with people who do not speak Jingulu, being married to Mudburra speakers, or in communities or homes in larger towns where speakers of many languages live together and use Kriol or English as a lingua franca. The languages of daily communication in traditional Jingili territory are now Kriol, English, and Mudburra.

1.2.2 Prospects for the language

Jingulu is properly classified as a moribund language, in the final stages of its existence. While there are people who can speak the language, but they do not, and therefore children do not hear the language and have no opportunity to learn it at all. However, it must be stated that there are Jingili people who are committed to the revival and maintenance of the Jingili language, and who are prepared to teach it to Jingili children. In order to do so, two things, it seems, are minimal essential requirements. The first requirement is resources to train community members who will serve as teachers, working with both the last fluent first-language speakers and the children who will learn. Works such as the Jingulu dictionary and texts (Pensalfini in preparation) and the picture book compiled by Pensalfini and Cosgrove (1996) are essential, more important in fact than grammatical descriptions (though descriptions such as this one and Chadwick 1975 may serve as references in the preparation of further resource materials). However, time is very short. The second requirement is a need for the language. Jingulu currently has no functional load, so an hour of instruction per day, even two hours per day, in the Jingulu language, as might be feasible within the current school system, is not going to make Jingili children speak the language, nor will it make them learn the language. Perhaps if older Jingili in communities made a conscious effort to speak Jingulu in the presence of younger members, if cultural learning/training took part in the traditional language, then there would be a perceived need among the younger members to learn to speak Jingulu.

The prospects for Mudburra are somewhat better, given that there are households in which the language is still spoken, but that language too is severely endangered.

1.3 Kinship and subsection system

This book is primarily a study of the Jingulu language, not of Jingili culture. However, some aspects of the culture are essential to an understanding of the language, particularly as it is used in texts. The most central of these is the structure of the kinship and subsection system. Skins (subsection names) are important to language and communication because skin and kinship terms are used as terms of address (use of proper names in address, and to a lesser extent, in referring to a third party, is considered impolite and inappropriate, and appears to be grammatically prohibited within a clause, as discussed in §3.1.4). Skin names often also occur in texts in reference to various birds, who are associated with particular skins (subsections) by way of traditional law (dreaming).

Every member of the society (extending to every human that regularly interacts with a person from the community) has a 'skin' (in other words, everyone belongs to a subsection), which is determined usually by the skins of one's parents (though the skin of an outsider who is brought into the group by marriage is determined by the skin of their spouse). One's skin determines which subsection one's preferred marriage partner should come from, which subsection one may not marry into, and how one is related to, and therefore should interact with, each other member of the community.

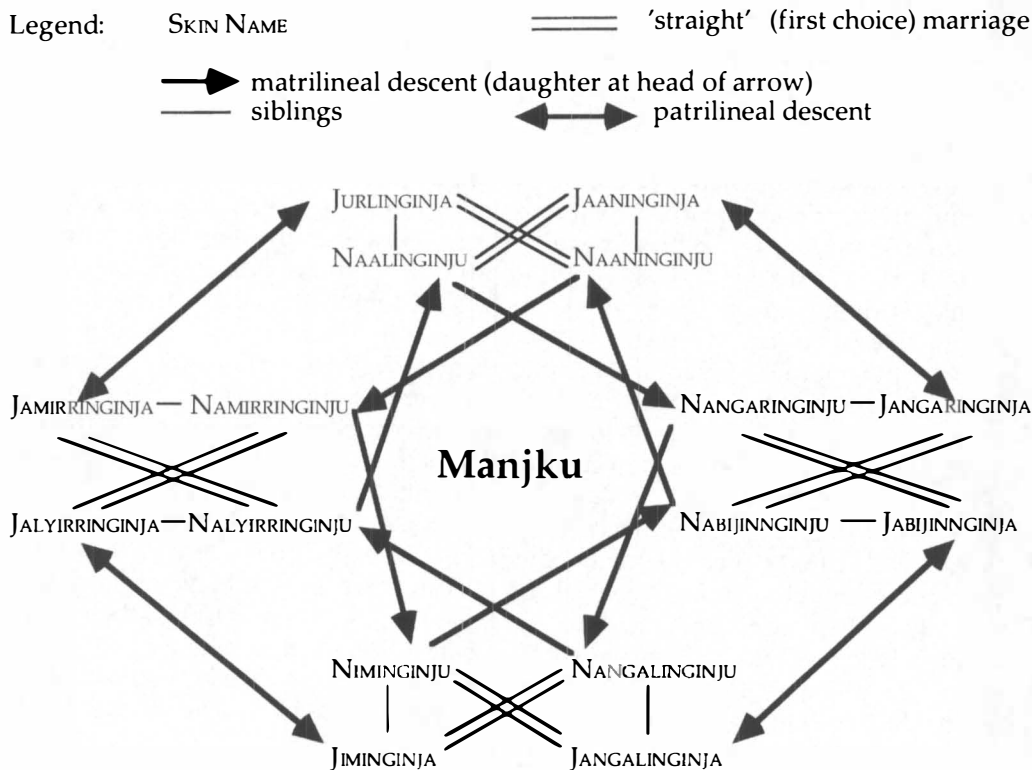


Figure 1.1: Jingulu kinship terms and subsection system

The schematisation of Jingulu skin and kinship presented in Figure 1.1 is based on a schema for the eight subsection system drawn by Robert Hoogenraad at the Institute for Aboriginal Development in Alice Springs. Note that patrilineal descent occurs in four groups of two, so that a man's son's son is the same skin as he is, while matrilineal descent occurs as two groups of four, so that a woman's daughter's daughter is not the same skin as her, but that that granddaughter's daughter's daughter will be the same skin as the first woman we considered.

'Straight' (first choice) marriage is not the only marriage allowed, and the kinship system in practice becomes quite complex, with many marriages other than straight ones taking place. There are also people who have more than one skin name (usually as a result of non-straight marriages).

Note that skin names for men begin with /j/ and end in /a/; skin names for women begin in /n/ and end in /u/. These are usually (but not always) the only phonological differences between a woman's skin name and her brother's. Interestingly, /nginja/ is a masculine nominal meaning 'seed'. Jingulu skin names ('manjku') are very similar to their Mudburra counterparts, in many cases differing only in the

appearance of /-nginja/ (masculine) or /-nginju/ (feminine) on the Jingulu terms. Here follows an example showing how people of each skin could be related to each member of a married couple. The married couple in question consists of a Jurlinginja and a Naaninginju. I chose this couple because my own skin is Jurlinginja and it was therefore the easiest in terms of eliciting the data regarding the relationships in question.

<u>Skin</u>	<u>Relationship to Jurlinginja</u>	<u>Relationship to Naaninginju</u>
Jurlinginja	<i>baba, bardarda</i> ('brother')	<i>ngambiya</i> ('husband, brother-in-law')
	<i>kangkuya</i> ('father's father')	<i>ngabuja</i> ('grandpa-in-law')
Naalinginju	<i>bibirni, birdirdini</i> ('sister')	<i>ngambiyirni</i> ('sister-in-law')
Jaaninginja	<i>ngambiya</i> ('brother-in-law')	<i>baba, bardarda</i> ('brother')
Naaninginju	<i>kabirni</i> ('wife')	<i>bibirni, birdirdini</i> ('sister')
	<i>ngambiyirni</i> ('sister-in-law')	
Jangaringinja	<i>lambarra</i> ('father-in-law')	<i>lala, kirda</i> ('father')
Nangaringinju	<i>jakardini lambarra</i> ('aunt-in-law')	<i>lilirni</i> ('father's sister')
Jabijinnginja	<i>jawurla</i> ('uncle-in-law')	<i>kanya</i> ('mother's brother')
Nabijinnginju	<i>jiyirni</i> ('mother-in-law')	<i>jakardini</i> ('mother')
Jiminginja	<i>ankila</i> ('cousin')	<i>kuka</i> ('grandma's brother')
	<i>kaminjarra</i> ('daughter's son')	<i>kaminjarra</i> ('daughter's son')
	<i>jaminja</i> ('mother's father')	
Niminginju	<i>ankilirni</i> ('cousin')	<i>kukurni</i> ('mother's mother')
	<i>kaminjirrini</i> ('granddaughter')	<i>kaminjirrini</i> ('granddaughter')
	<i>jaminjirni</i> ('grandpa's sister')	
Jangalinginja	<i>kuka, jaju</i> ('grandma's brother')	<i>ankila</i> ('cousin')
		<i>jaminja</i> ('mother's father')
Nangalinginju	<i>kukurni</i> ('mother's mother')	<i>anikilirni</i> ('cousin')
		<i>jaminjirni</i> ('grandpa's sister')

<i>Jamirringinja</i>	<i>lala, kirda</i> ('father')	<i>lambarra</i> ('father-in-law')
	<i>biba</i> ('son')	<i>biba</i> ('son')
<i>Namirringinju</i>	<i>lilirni</i> ('father's sister')	<i>jakardini lambarra</i> ('aunt-in-law')
	<i>bibirni</i> ('daughter')	<i>bibirni</i> ('daughter')
<i>Jalyirringinja</i>	<i>kanya</i> ('mother's brother')	<i>jawurla</i> ('cousin-in-law')
<i>Nalyirringinju</i>	<i>jakardini</i> ('mother')	<i>jiyirni</i> ('mother-in-law')

The relationships *jiyirni* ('mother-in-law') and *jawurla* ('cousin-in-law, mother-in-law's brother') demand an avoidance style of interaction. Traditionally, interactions with these relatives are avoided, though if essential communication may take place through an intermediary, ideally from a distance. Nowadays these restrictions are considerably more relaxed, and even some of the older speakers do not follow them at all, although they are well aware of them.

Traditionally, siblings-in-law (*ngambiya*, *ngambiyirni*) do not touch, give to or receive from one another with one hand only. It must be done with both hands or with one hand touching the other hand or arm (usually at the elbow).

Kinship terms (mother, sister, etc.) are classificatory, which means they refer to a relationship by skin and not specifically a blood or genetic relationship. Therefore a *Jurlinginja* will call all other *Jurlinginja* men *baba*, *bardarda*, or *kangkuya* (the choice usually depending on age difference), irrespective of genetic relatedness.

Because of the circular/cyclic design of the kinship system (as opposed to the European linear design) a person may be addressed in more than one way. A man may address his son's wife as *limbirrini* (daughter-in-law) or as *jakardini* (mother). The choice often comes down to the tone sought by the speaker for that particular interaction.

Conversely, a single kinship term may have a variety of translations into English. The term *baba*, for instance, may be translated as 'older brother' or as 'older (male) parallel cousin'. An examination of Figure 1.1 reveals the reason for this: a person's brother will always be of the same skin as that same person's father's brother's son or their mother's sister's son. Below is a list of the most commonly heard Jingulu kinship terms, along with their primary translations and what the classification includes. The classificatory inclusion sometimes differs depending on whether the speaker/ego is male or female, and this is also indicated.

baba = brother (elder)
classification includes older male parallel cousin

bibirni = daughter, elder sister
classification includes older female parallel cousin
classification includes brother's daughter, wife's sister's daughter (ego: male)
classification includes older brother's son's daughter, husband's niece, father-in-law's sister's daughter, mother-in-law's father's sister's daughter (ego: female)

bardarda = brother (younger)
classification includes younger male parallel cousin

biba = son
classification includes also brother's son, wife's sister's son, wife's paternal grandfather's sister's son (ego: male)
classification includes brother's son's son, husband's nephew, father-in-law's sister's son, mother-in-law's father's sister's son (ego: female)

birdirdini = sister (younger)
classification includes younger female parallel cousin
classification includes wife's brother's wife (ego: male)
classification includes maternal aunt's daughter (ego: female)

jaju = grandmother's (maternal) brother (ego: male or female)
classification includes wife's brother's daughter's son, mother-in-law's father and his brothers, mother-in-law's father's brother's son (ego: male)

jakardini = mother (ego: son or daughter)
classification includes mother's sister

jaminja = grandfather (mother's father)
classification includes mother's father's brother, daughter's son, also wife's sister's daughter's son (ego: male)
classification includes mother's father's brother, mother-in-law's mother's brother (ego: female)

jaminjirni = grandfather's (maternal) sister, daughter's daughter
classification includes wife's sister's daughter's daughter (ego: male)
classification includes mother-in-law's mother and her sisters (ego: female)

jaya = mother-in-law's brother
classification includes father-in-law's mother's brother
classification includes son's wife's brothers (ego: female)

jtyirni = mother-in-law
 classification includes father-in-law's mother and mother-in-law's sister
 classification includes son's wife (ego: female)

kabirni = wife
 classification includes brother's wife, wife's sister (ego: male)

kaminjarra = daughter's son
 classification includes sister's grandson, father-in-law's nephew, mother-in-law's brother's son (ego: male)
 classification includes niece's son, paternal grandfather's nephew, husband's niece's son, mother-in-law's brother's son, mother-in-law's mother's brother's son (ego: female)

kaminjirrini = daughter's daughter
 classification includes sister's granddaughter, father-in-law's niece, mother-in-law's brother's daughter, mother-in-law's father's brother's daughter (ego: male)
 classification includes niece's daughter, paternal grandfather's niece, husband's niece's daughter, mother-in-law's brother's daughter, mother-in-law's mother's brother's daughter (ego: female)

kangkuya = paternal grandfather (ego: male)
 classification includes paternal grandfather's brother, son's son, brother's grandson, wife's sister's son's son (ego: male)
 classification includes sister's son's son, father-in-law's mother's brother (ego: female)

kangkuyirni = paternal grandfather's sister (ego: male)
 sister's son's daughter (ego: female)
 classification includes son's daughter, brother's granddaughter, wife's sister's son's daughter (ego: male)
 classification includes father-in-law's mother and her sisters (ego: female)

kanya = uncle (either parent's brother if ego is female, mother's brother only if ego is male)
 classification includes either parent's sister's husband, mother's male cousin, mother-in-law's maternal male cousin (ego: male)
 classification includes maternal grandparent's brother's son, maternal grandmother's sister's son (ego: female)

- kirda*** = father
 classification includes father's brother, spouse's paternal grandfather's sister's son
 classification includes paternal grandfather's brother's son, paternal grandmother's sister's son (ego: male)
 classification includes mother's sister's husband (ego: female)
- kuka*** = grandmother's (maternal) brother
 classification includes wife's brother's daughter's son, mother-in-law's father and his brothers, mother-in-law's father's brother's son (ego: male)
- kukurni*** = grandmother (maternal)
 classification includes maternal grandmother's sisters
 classification includes wife's brother's daughter's daughter, mother-in-law's father's sister and mother-in-law's father's brother's daughter (ego: male)
- kula*** = nephew (sister's son) (ego: male)
 son, nephew (sister's son) (ego: female)
 classification includes paternal grandfather's sister's son, paternal grandmother's brother's son, father-in-law (and his brothers) and his father's brother's son (ego: male)
 classification includes father-in-law's brother's son, father-in-law's mother's nephew, mother-in-law's sister's husband (ego: female)
- kulirni*** = niece (sister's daughter) (ego: male)
 daughter, niece (sister's daughter) (ego: female)
 classification includes paternal grandfather's sister's daughter, paternal grandmother's brother's daughter, wife's brother's daughter, father-in-law's sister or his brother's wife or his father's brother's daughter (ego: male)
 classification includes mother-in-law's father's brother's daughter, father-in-law's brother's daughter, father-in-law's mother's niece (ego: female)
- lala*** = father
 classification includes father's brother, spouse's paternal grandfather's sister's son
 classification includes paternal grandfather's brother's son, paternal grandmother's sister's son (ego: male)
 classification includes mother's sister's husband (ego: female)

- lilirni*** = father's sister
 classification includes paternal grandfather's brother's daughter, paternal grandmother's sister's daughter, maternal uncle's wife, father-in-law's sister's daughter (ego: male)
 classification includes parent's brother's wife, maternal grandfather's sister, father-in-law's father's sister's daughter (ego: female)
- lambarra*** = father-in-law, son-in-law, daughter-in-law
 classification includes father-in-law's sister (ego: male)
- limbirrini*** = daughter-in-law
- ngabuja*** = grandmother's (paternal) brother
 classification includes wife's paternal grandfather and his brothers (ego: male)
 classification includes son's son, paternal grandfather and his brothers, husband's paternal grandfather's brother, mother-in-law's sister's son (ego: female)
- ngabujirni*** = grandmother (paternal), son's daughter (ego: female)
 classification includes paternal grandmother's sister, spouse's paternal grandfather's sister (ego: male or female)
 classification includes mother-in-law's sister's daughter, husband's paternal grandfather's sister (ego: female)
- ngambiya*** = brother-in-law, husband
 classification includes mother-in-law's sister's son and her father's sister's son, father-in-law's mother's nephew (ego: male)
 classification includes father-in-law's father's brother's son (ego: female)
- ngambiyirni*** = wife, sister-in-law
 classification includes brother-in-law's son's daughter, mother-in-law's sister's daughter and her father's sister's daughter, father-in-law's mother's nieces (ego: male)
 classification includes father-in-law's father's brother's daughter (ego: female)
- ngunyarra*** = paternal grandfather's mother's brother (father's paternal grandmother's brother)
 classification includes wife's maternal grandmother's brother (ego: male)
- ngunyirirni*** = grandmother-in-law (paternal grandfather's mother, father's paternal grandmother)
 classification includes wife's maternal grandmother's brother (ego: male)

(w)ankila = cross cousin (male)

classification includes mother-in-law's mother's brother (ego: male)

classification includes father's nephew, maternal grandfather's sister's son (ego: female)

(w)ankilirni = cross cousin (female)

classification includes mother-in-law's mother and her sisters (ego: male)

classification includes father's niece, maternal grandfather's sister's daughter (ego: female)

2 *Phonology*

Jingulu phonology is, for the most part, unremarkable by comparison to the phonology of other languages of the West Barkly and of central Australia more generally. It has three vowels with a length distinction, stops and nasals in five places of articulation, laterals in three places of articulation, three glides, and a rhotic flap. Complex onsets and codas are prohibited, with some exceptions. As is the case with many inflecting languages, there is a great deal of variation at morpheme boundaries.

What sets Jingulu phonology apart from the phonological systems of most other Australian languages is its system of exclusively regressive vowel harmony (suffixes determine harmony in the roots), which is pervasive and can be used as a diagnostic for morphosyntactic structure. Jingulu vowel harmony is discussed in §2.4.

2.1 Phoneme inventory

2.1.1 Vowels

Jingulu has three vowel phonemes, /a/, /i/, and /u/. In the terms of Halle's (1992, 1995) feature geometry, /i/ and /u/ on the one hand can be distinguished from /a/ in terms of the feature [\pm high]: /i/ and /u/ are specified as [+high] while /a/ is not. In their surface phonetic realisation, /i/ is [–back, –round] while /u/ is [+back, +round], but since Jingulu does not have any phonemes with the combination of features [α back, – α round], there is a question as to whether the phonemic distinction is between /u/ and /i/ in terms of roundness or backness. Since vowel harmony (see §2.4) regularly changes /a/ to /i/, I assume /a/ to be unspecified for a backness value (a fairly standard assumption) and that the distinction between /i/ and /u/ is one of roundness, with backness features being filled in at a later stage by phonetic realisation processes. In the discussion of harmony in §2.4 it is also argued that while /a/ surfaces as [+low], it is underlyingly unspecified for height. In the process of phonetic realisation, if a vowel segment has not had a height feature specified by some means (either underlying specification or harmonic spreading) it will be given the default specification [–high]. The underlying Jingulu vowel system can be represented as:

- (2.1)
- | | | |
|---|---------------------|-----|
| [-consonantal, [DORSAL: +high, +round]] | = | /u/ |
| [-consonantal, [DORSAL: +high, -round]] | = | /i/ |
| [-consonantal, [DORSAL: -round]] | usually surfaces as | /a/ |

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------|---------------------------------|
| b. <i>ngurru</i>
'eye' | versus | <i>nguwwuru</i>
'far place' |
| c. <i>baj-</i>
'track, follow' | versus | <i>baaj</i>
'arrive, get in' |

Long low vowels are written /aa/ by orthographic convention. There is no bisyllabic variant of /aa/, unlike the other long vowels. Occasionally words containing the sequence /ara/ are heard with [aa] (such as [karaangbi] for *kararangbi* ('bad-tempered')), but this is highly unusual, and a glide (/r/, /w/, or /y/) cannot be inserted in the underlying sequence /aa/ (e.g. *madkaaku* ('path') is never pronounced *[madkaraku], *[madkawaku], or *[madkayaku]).

Diphthongs will be written as two syllables with an intervening glide.

- | | | | | |
|-------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (2.3) | <i>jangayi</i>
'yawn' | <i>warlmayi</i>
'woomera' | <i>kawula</i>
'night heron' | <i>jawularri</i>
'youth' |
| | <i>biyawuja</i>
'grindstone' | <i>ngambiya</i>
'brother-in-law' | <i>niyu</i>
'intercourse' | <i>biyuka</i>
'rain stone' |
| | <i>minduwa</i>
'let's go (dual)!' | <i>wajuwa</i>
'which way?' | <i>junjunjuwi</i>
'sundown' | <i>jalakduwi</i>
'awake' |

The principles underlying the choice of intervocalic glide can be characterised as follows: if either of the vowels is /a/, which is unspecified for backness, the glide agrees in backness with the other ([+high]) vowel. If both vowels are [+high], and therefore each bears a different backness specification, the glide agrees in roundness (and backness) with the first of the two vowels. This is further illustrated by the two acceptable variants of the word for 'sun': [uliyijirni] and [uluwijirni]: if the vowels to be separated by a glide are both /i/, then the glide will be the [-back, -round] glide /y/, but if the first vowel is /u/ and the second /i/, the glide is the [+back, +round] glide /w/.

All of the above suggests that Jingulu does not epenthesise place features in order to break up a hiatus between vowels. Place features are spread from an adjacent high vowel. If both adjacent vowels are high, the feature is spread from the left. If both adjacent vowels are /a/, and therefore underspecified for place features, no glide can be inserted and the sequence surfaces as a long vowel.

In speech, final [+high] vowels are sometimes not pronounced, particularly phrase-finally. One speaker, who was probably the most fluent Jingulu speaker I encountered, actually gave clearly pronounced but completely devoiced vowels in this environment, including [ɟunɟ] for *ngunu* ('that one') and [ɟamanikiɲ] for *jamanikiri* (Ergative form of 'this fellow'). As this does not affect stress or any other aspect of the grammar, I will treat it as an optional stylistic device.

2.1.2 Consonants and glides

Jingulu has five distinct places of articulation (passive articulators), with the relevant active articulators being lips, tongue tip, tongue blade and tongue body. In Halle's (1992, 1995) feature geometry, the tip and blade of the tongue are considered to be a single articulator, the corona, manifested in the geometry as the feature [Coronal]. There is a distinction between tongue tip in an anterior (alveopalatal) position and a non-anterior (retroflex) position, but there is no series of interdentals as there is in many other Australian languages. Each of the places of articulation has a corresponding stop (labial /b/, apical anterior /d/, apical retroflex /rd/, palatal /j/ and velar /k/) and nasal (labial /m/, apical anterior /n/, apical retroflex /rn/, palatal /ny/ and velar /ng/) phoneme.

In addition, there is a laminal consonant for each of the coronal points of articulation (apical anterior /l/, apical retroflex /rl/ and palatal /ly/), an apical flapped or trilled rhotic /rr/, a rhotic continuant /r/, a peripheral glide /w/, and a coronal glide /y/. As is common among Australian languages, Jingulu lacks phonologically distinct fricatives and affricates. Consonants are never phonologically geminated in Jingulu.

This is a fairly common consonant inventory for Australian languages. As mentioned above, Jingulu lacks the series of interdental ([+anterior, +distributed]) stops and nasals that many Australian languages have.

Figure 2.2 gives the consonants of Jingulu in the traditional place and manner exposition common in Australian descriptive linguistics, while Figure 2.3 expresses the contrasts in terms of feature geometry (Halle 1992, 1995).

		PLACE				
		peripheral			coronal	
		labial	velar	alveolar	retroflex	palatal
M	stop	/b/	/k/	/d/	/rd/	/j/
A	nasal	/m/	/ng/	/n/	/rn/	/ny/
N	lateral			/l/	/rl/	/ly/
N	rhotic			/rr/	/r/	
E	glide	/w/	/w/			/y/
R						

Figure 2.2: Classification of Jingulu consonants by place and manner of articulation

The fundamental insight of feature geometry is that features occur in clusters, and may be dependent on one another. All consonants involve a place feature determined by the active articulator (vowels are all [Dorsal]). Thus, a velar consonant does not require a specification for [\pm anterior] because [\pm anterior] is a feature that is dependent on [Coronal] place, and a velar consonant has [Dorsal] as its place feature.

Root		Stricture	Cavity					
consonantal	sonorant	lateral	Oral				Nasal	
			Peripheral		Coronal		soft palate	
			Labial	Dorsal	anterior	distributed		
+	-	-	+				-	/b/
+	-	-		+			-	/k/
+	-	-			+	-	-	/d/
+	-	-			-	-	-	/rd/
+	-	-			-	+	-	/j/
+	+	-	+				+	/m/
+	+	-		+			+	/ng/
+	+	-			+	-	+	/n/
+	+	-			-	-	+	/m/
+	+	-			-	+	+	/ny/
+	+	+			+	-	-	/l/
+	+	+			+	-	-	/rl/
+	+	+			+	-	-	/ly/
+	+	-			+	-	-	/rr/
-	+	-	(+)	(+)			-	/w/*
-	+	-			-	-	-	/r/
-	+	-			-	+	-	/y/

*/w/ can be either labial or dorsal, made with a rounding of the lips, a raising of the back of the tongue toward the roof of the mouth, or both.

Figure 2.3: Classification of Jingulu consonants by articulatory features

While Jingulu has no phonemes that are [+anterior, +distributed], Coronal features are organised in such a way that [\pm distributed] and [\pm anterior] are independent, just as in languages that have phonemically distinct interdentals ([+anterior, -distributed]). This is required by the phonotactic constraints discussed in §2.2, as is the organisation the non-coronal oral places together into a node (the ‘peripheral’ of Australianist descriptions, demonstrated in Figure 2.2). The resultant organisation of features is expressed in Figure 2.4:

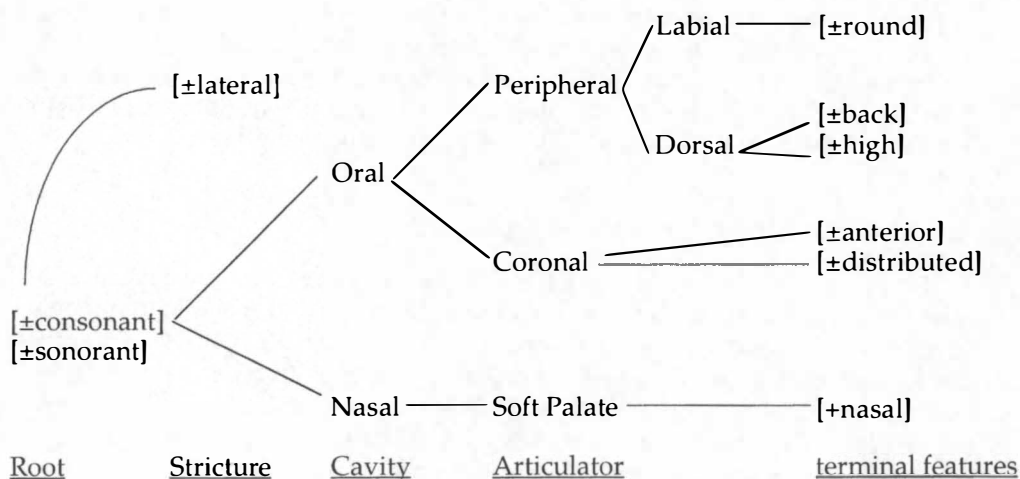


Figure 2.4: Articulatory feature geometry

The absence of distinctive [+anterior, +distributed] phonemes is the result of a markedness constraint on this exact combination of features. I will not speculate here on the reasons for this markedness, except to note that Australian languages which have a distinct series of interdentals ([+anterior, -distributed]), also have the three Coronal series ([+anterior, -distributed], [-anterior, -distributed], [-anterior, +distributed]) that Jingulu does.

2.1.2.1 Retroflex consonants

It is difficult to find evidence that retroflexion ([±anterior]) is contrastive in Jingulu. Certainly Chadwick (1975) describes it as such. Many suffixes show allomorphy where a retroflexed element contrasts with a non-retroflexed element depending on the place of the preceding coronal (e.g. the Ergative suffix /-rni/, see §2.5.2.1), but this might be simple allophony. It seems that speakers of modern Jingulu are quite lax about whether a consonant is retroflexed or not, with many words being acceptable equivalents either way, as alternative forms in the dictionary (Pensalfini in preparation) attest. The only clear lexical minimal pair involving retroflexed versus non-retroflexed consonants which I found was the root pair /dirnd-/ ‘shoot’ versus /dind-/ ‘grind’. The only other

potential pair involves a borrowed Mudburra word *walu* ‘head, forehead’, which many speakers rejected as not being a Jingulu word, contrasting with *warlu*, which is an alternative pronunciation of *waru* ‘burn mark, scar’. This is fairly scant evidence.

Another minimal pair (though not lexical) is provided by the third person masculine singular object (Accusative) pronoun *ngarnu* and the inflected verb *ngamu* (/nga-nu/) ‘I did (it)’.

There is never any contrast between retroflex and anterior consonants in word-initial position. Occasionally an initial coronal is pronounced retroflexed, but it is more common to hear the [+anterior] coronal in initial position, even when the consonant is underlyingly [–anterior, –distributed]. This is demonstrated by the word for ‘axe’, *dawurdawu*, which presumably comes historically from a reduplication of the form */rdawu/. This word is typically pronounced [daudau]. The absence of this particular contrast in word-initial position is typical of Australian languages.

2.1.2.2 The palatovelar stop: phoneme or cluster?

Chadwick (1975) and Ulamari and Chadwick (1979) claim the existence of another phoneme in addition to the ones presented above: a palatovelar stop phoneme /ky/, with no corresponding nasal. According to Chadwick (1975:4), /ky/ involves ‘onset by contact with back of tongue with front of velum with palatal release’. Within an articulatory theory of phonology, this description of the articulation of /ky/ is incomplete. Chadwick tells us that the place of the onset is velar, but the release is palatal, but does not say which active articulator is involved in the release. From my own field tapes and observations, I conclude that the release involves a different articulator, the tongue blade. The alleged phoneme /ky/ thus manifests itself as a doubly-articulated stop, with the following feature geometry:

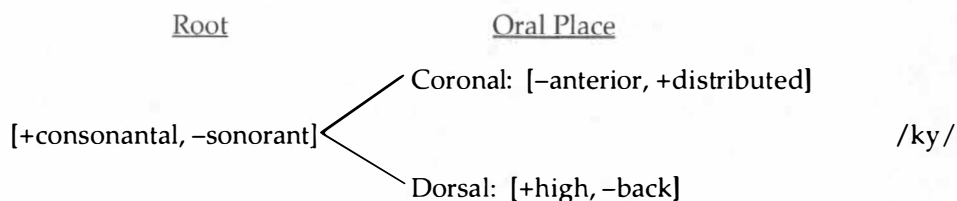


Figure 2.5: Feature representation of putative morpheme /ky/

There are a variety of reasons for supposing that /ky/ is not a phonemic segment with a split place node, but rather the phonetic simplification of a /j/+ /k/ or /k/+ /j/ cluster (as suggested by Breen (to appear) for Garrwa and Yanyuwa). The first is one of sheer phonetic realisation. In my own investigations, I found that the element which Chadwick calls the palatovelar stop /ky/ was indeed often pronounced exactly as Chadwick described. However, in many instances (often of the same words), it was realised as a geminated /j/ ([jj]), on occasion as the plain distributed coronal stop [j], and rarely as the velar stop [k]. In careful speech this was often rendered as the

sequence [jk]. While each speaker had a preferred pronunciation (which might vary with speed or delivery), each speaker also produced several variants of the stop and regularly accepted a variety of pronunciations. In (2.3) are examples of the alternative pronunciations that I heard of some words containing what I believe to be the cluster /jk/, or in some cases /kj/. Except where otherwise noted, if Chadwick (1975) cited these words, he spelled the sounds in question 'ky'. The fact that Chadwick's representation of these sounds was not consistent suggests that, on occasion, he too heard them as clusters. This variation is supported by instrumental studies (Butcher 2001). The digraph 'ky' in my phonetic transcriptions (to the right of the arrows in (2.3)) represents the surface doubly-articulated stop as set out in Figure 2.5.

(2.3) <i>aburrmajkala</i> 'noisy'	→ [aburrmajala]/[aburrmardkala]
<i>barangarnajku</i> 'narrow gap/ clearing'	→ [barangarnakyu]/[barangarnaju]
<i>bajkajka</i> 'story, tale'	→ [bajkajja]/[bakyajja]
<i>bujajkalimi</i> 'prickly'	→ [bujakyalimi]/[bujajakalimi]
<i>bujkuw-</i> 'smell'	→ [bukjuw-]/[bujuw-]/[bukyuw-]
<i>dajkanu</i> 'it banged'	→ [dakyanu]
<i>dangbarrajkala</i> 'lazy' ²	→ [dangbarrajala]/[dangbarrajkala]
<i>dibijkanajku</i> 'scrub'	→ [dibijkanajku]/[dibijanaju]/[dibijyanajyu]/ [dibikyanakyu]
<i>durrb kujajkala</i> 'sting'	→ [durrb kujajjala]/[durrb kujajkyala]
<i>jajk-</i> 'request'	→ [jajk-]/[jaky-]/[jajy-]/[jaj-]
<i>jakulakji</i> ³ 'possum'	→ [jakulaykyi]/[jakulakji]/[jakulaji]
<i>kabijajkala</i> 'funny'	→ [kabijakyala]/[kabijajkala]/[kabijajala]
<i>kujarrana</i> 'two'	→ [kujarrana]/[kukyarrana]/[kujkarrana] ⁴
<i>kulukarrajkala</i> 'nod off'	→ [kulukarrajkala]/[kulukarrakyala]/ [kulukarrajyala]
<i>kunjkuw-</i> 'swallow'	→ [kunyjkuw-]/[kunykuyuw-]/[kunykuw-]/ [kunyjjuw-]
<i>lajkanu</i> 'it banged'	→ [lajkanu]

¹ Chadwick spells this word *aburrmayikala*.

² This spelling, with 'jk', is used by Chadwick (1975).

³ This spelling, with 'kj', is used by Chadwick (1975).

⁴ In eliciting a related word, I heard [kukyarrani], repeated it as [kujarrani], and the speaker corrected me, speaking clearly, with [kujkarrani].

<i>larranjku</i> 'limb'	→ [larranyku]
<i>liyijku</i> 'name'	→ [liyijku]/[liyikyu]/[liyiku]
<i>manjku</i> 'skin name'	→ [manyjku]/[manykyu]/[manyju]
<i>marrinjku</i> 'language'	→ [marrinyku]
<i>mayayajkala</i> 'cruel'	→ [mayayajala]/[mayayaykala]/[mayayajkala]
<i>mujkiy-</i> 'forget' ⁵	→ [mudkiy]/[mujjiy]/[mujiy]
<i>ngananjku</i> 'woodchip'	→ [ngananju]/[ngananykyu]
<i>ngardajkalu</i> 'huge'	→ [ngardajkalu]
<i>ngijinmi</i> 'tail'	→ [ngijinmi]
<i>warriji</i> 'spirit' ⁶	→ [warriji]/[warriji]/[warriji]
<i>wirrinikum-</i> 'change'	→ [wirrinikyum-]/[wirrinijum-]
<i>wurraj-</i> 'drag'	→ [urraj-]/[urraj-]
<i>wurrajkala</i> 'head cold' ⁷	→ [wurrajkala]/[wurrakjala]/[wurrajala]
<i>wurrj-</i> 'shave'	→ [urrj-]/[urrjy-]
<i>yajka</i> 'away'	→ [yayja]/[yajja]/[yakya]/[yaja]
<i>yidajku</i> 'yesterday'	→ [idaykyu]
<i>yidayidajku</i> 'afternoon'	→ [yidayidaju]/[yidayidaykyu]
<i>yirrinjkumangayi</i> 'I'll get changed'	→ [irrinijkumangayi]/[irrinikyumangayi] ⁸

Chadwick's /ky/ occurs only between vowels or in intervocalic clusters following the palatal nasal /ny/. It never occurs word-initially or word-finally. If it represented a single phonemic segment, it would be unique among Jingulu phonemes in the restrictiveness of its distribution—no other single phoneme is allowed only word-medially. Stop+stop clusters, on the other hand, are never allowed word-peripherally, and two stops may be preceded in a word-internal cluster by a sonorant (see §2.2), which suggests that the source of [ky] may be a stop+stop cluster.

Ulamari and Chadwick (1979) accept that /ky/ developed historically from clusters of palatal consonant plus /k/, but the evidence above suggests that it should be analysed synchronically as a cluster as well.

A final consideration, though not evidence in and of itself, is that if Jingulu does

⁵ This spelling, with 'jk', is used by Chadwick (1975).

⁶ This spelling, with 'jk', is used by Chadwick (1975).

⁷ Chadwick (1975) spells a variant of this word *wurrajkyalu*.

⁸ These variants were uttered by the same speaker within minutes of one another.

indeed have a phoneme /ky/ with the representation in Figure 2.5, it would be unique among the world's languages in having a phonemic doubly-articulated stop involving coronal closure. Doubly-articulated stops elsewhere in the world (some Niger–Congo languages being the classic examples) involve labial and dorsal (both peripheral places) closure.

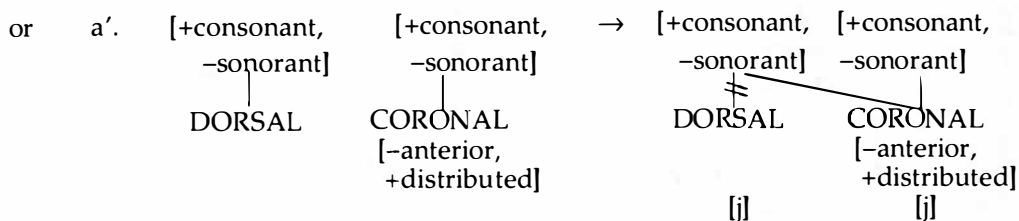
I will write occurrences of this sound as either /jk/ (Ulamari and Chadwick's /ky/) or, following palatal nasals simply /k/ (/nyk/ for Chadwick and Ulamari's /nky/), thus reducing Chadwick's (1975) and Ulamari and Chadwick's (1979) phoneme inventory by one.

The phonetic reduction of the phoneme sequence /j/+ /k/ or /k/+ /j/ to the doubly-articulated [ky] does not occur across word boundaries, as illustrated in (2.4).

- (2.4) *Marndaj kilidima-nga-ju kurrinyu.*
 OK peel-1sg-do bark
 'I'm taking the bark right off.'
 = [marndaj#kilidima...], not *[marndakyilidim...],
 *[marndajilidim...], *[marndakilidim...], or *[marndajjilidim...]

The reduction of these clusters to [ky] is therefore assumed to be an optional word-level phonetic rule that merges the root nodes of the adjacent segments, giving rise to a doubly-articulated stop. When [k] and [j] result from an underlying /jk/ or /kj/ sequence, one of the place nodes has been deleted in addition to the merger of root nodes. The existence of the geminate [jj] in some cases is the result of Coronal place features spreading from one segment to another with no merger of root nodes. These rules are represented in (2.5) (order of root nodes is not relevant, phonological adjacency is). All of the rules and subrules of (2.5) are optional.

- (2.5) a. $\begin{array}{ccc} \begin{array}{c} [+consonant, \\ -sonorant] \\ | \\ \text{DORSAL} \\ /k/ \end{array} & \begin{array}{c} [+consonant, \\ -sonorant] \\ | \\ \text{CORONAL} \\ [-anterior, \\ +distributed] \\ /j/ \end{array} & \rightarrow \begin{array}{c} [+consonant, \\ -sonorant] \\ / \quad \backslash \\ \text{DORSAL} \quad \text{CORONAL} \\ \quad \quad [-anterior, \\ \quad \quad +distributed] \\ \quad \quad [jk] \end{array} \end{array}$
- b. $\begin{array}{c} [+consonant, \\ -sonorant] \\ / \quad \backslash \\ \text{DORSAL} \quad \text{CORONAL} \\ \quad \quad [-anterior, \\ \quad \quad +distributed] \\ \quad \quad [j] \end{array}$ OR b'. $\begin{array}{c} [+consonant, \\ -sonorant] \\ / \quad \backslash \\ \text{DORSAL} \quad \text{CORONAL} \\ \quad \quad [-anterior, \\ \quad \quad +distributed] \\ \quad \quad [k] \end{array}$



2.1.2.3 Neutralisation of [±lateral] in clusters

When the non-nasal sonorants /rr/ and /l/ occur as the first element of clusters, the [±lateral] distinction is neutralised. Thus, the word for 'open ground, open space' is found as either *walkbaku* or *warrkbaku* (or the metathesised variant *warrbkaku*), and the word for 'ironwood (tree)' can be either *marndarrngarra* or *marndalngarra*.

2.1.2.4 Initial glides and the special status of /ng/

Word-initial glides can be dropped, and every vowel-initial word has a glide-initial variant.⁹ The most commonly dropped glides are those homorganic with the following vowel (/y/ before /i/, /w/ before /a/ or /u/), but other glides are regularly dropped in casual speech too (see (2.6)).

It is easy to demonstrate that the glides are underlyingly present and optionally deleted word-initially rather than inserted into the initial position of an underlyingly vowel-initial form. As (2.6) demonstrates, word-initial sequences of [wi] and [yu] are permitted, which means that glides in initial positions are not predictable from the following vowel.

- | | | | | | |
|-------|----|-------------------|-----------------|---|--------------------------|
| (2.6) | a. | <i>wanikiy-</i> | 'do what' | → | [wanikiy-]/[anikiy-] |
| | b. | <i>widij-</i> | 'tie' | → | [widij-]/[idij-] |
| | c. | <i>wukuk bil-</i> | 'cover' | → | [wukuk bil-]/[ukuk bil-] |
| | d. | <i>yardalakbi</i> | 'warm' | → | [yardalakbi]/[ardalakbi] |
| | e. | <i>yidaangka</i> | 'in a few days' | → | [yidaangka]/[idaangka] |
| | f. | <i>yurdurruk-</i> | 'shelter' | → | [yurdurruk-]/[urdurruk-] |

The velar nasal /ng/ shows some glide-like behaviour in Jingulu. This segment has special status in many languages. In many European languages (including English), for instance, it is the only nasal that is not found word-initially. In Jingulu, initial

⁹ Speakers rejected glide-initial variants of many /a/-initial words, but produced them in casual speech. For instance, one speaker rejected my [wambayangaju] for *ambayangaju* ('I speak'), but minutes later clearly produced the form [wambayangaju] in a sentence. I have heard this pronunciation of this word both clause-medially and clause-initially.

/ng/ is often dropped, and in this regard it behaves like /w/ and /y/ but unlike any other consonant. This is not to say that /ng/ should be considered a glide, as /ng/ is never found between vowels that might otherwise be written as long vowels (i.e. [ungu] and [uu] are not interchangeable while [uwu] and [uu] are), and /ng/ is occasionally found word-finally, while /y/ and /w/ are not.

While this dropping of initial /ng/ is relatively unusual when compared to the dropping of other initial glides, it is quite productive. The examples below also illustrate the phenomenon of default glide insertion: a word which has had initial /ng/ dropped, thus rendering it vowel-initial, is sometimes pronounced with initial /ng/ replaced by a glide homorganic with the first vowel in the word. In (2.7e) the same verb root, *nguny-* 'give', appears twice, once surfacing with the underlying initial /ng/, and once with initial /w/.

- (2.7) a. *ngandayi* 'shade' → [ngandayi]/[andayi]/[wandayi]
 b. *ngini* 'this (n)' → [ngini]/[ini]/[yini]
 c. *ngirrm-* 'make' → [ngirrm]/[irrm]/[yirrm]
 d. *nguny-* 'give' → [nguny]/[uny]/[wuny]
 e. *Wunya-nga-ju ngabulu wawa kurlukurla jalyamungka, jumurdku*
 give-1sg-do breast child small(m) baby(m) milk
 ngunya-nga-ju.
 give-1sg-do
 'I'm giving breast milk to the little baby, I'm giving it milk.'

Halle's (1992, 1995) feature geometry provides a possible explanation for the aberrant behaviour of /ng/. Halle notes that all vowels have [Dorsal] as their place feature. Among the nasals, /ng/ has the place feature [Dorsal], while /m/ is [Labial] and /n/, /rn/, and /ny/ are [Coronal]. Nasals, unlike stops, but like vowels, are [+sonorant]. Thus, the only difference between /ng/ and a glide is the specification [+consonantal] in the root node, making /ng/ the most glide-like of the consonants. In Jingulu, it appears that word-initial /ng/ can in fact be treated as though it were [-consonantal], a glide. One possibility is that /ng/, underlyingly [+consonantal], becomes [-consonantal] in word-initial position. This process might explain the general avoidance of word-initial /ng/ in a wide variety of languages.

2.2 Phonotactics

The basic syllable shape in Jingulu is CV, with CVC and CVLC permitted ('C' represents a consonant, 'V' a vowel, and 'L' a [+sonorant, -nasal] consonant (a liquid)).

The V may be long or short. A Jingulu word minimally consists of a closed (CVC) syllable or an open (CV) syllable with a long vowel (some interjections appear to violate this constraint, but as discussed in §3.1.4, interjections often violate the phonetic and phonotactic constraints of a language). As discussed in the previous section, initial glides are often dropped, resulting in V(L)(C) syllables word-initially. It is argued below on distributional grounds that onsetless syllables are also allowed word-medially under certain circumstances.

All consonant phonemes except /rr/ and /ly/ are permitted word-initially (/r/ is rare, but permitted).¹⁰ Morris Halle (pers. comm.) suggests the possibility that /rr/ and /ly/, like /ky/, are actually bisegmental, which would explain their absence from word-initial positions. I am skeptical about this analysis, given that /ly/ does not display the kind of evidence for bisegmentality that /ky/ does (see §2.1.2.2), such as variant surface realisations.

As noted in §2.1.2.1, there is no distinction between retroflexed and non-retroflexed apicals in word-initial position.

Word-finally, vowels are the most common phonemes, and almost every phrase is vowel-final, given that almost all consonant-final words are adverbial elements which tend to precede verbs and are therefore rare in phrase-final position. All phonemes except for glides (/w/, /y/, and /r/) are permitted word-finally.

In order to determine the permissibility of complex onsets and codas it is necessary to examine the clusters that occur. Clusters are maximally of three consonants and triconsonantal clusters only ever occur word-internally, never at word boundaries, suggesting that only one of onset or coda could be complex. The triconsonantal clusters that occur all involve a [+sonorant, -nasal] consonant (a liquid), followed by a stop or nasal, followed by a stop. Examples are given in (2.8), with periods marking proposed syllable boundaries.

- (2.8)
- | | | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| <i>mulk.bul.ku</i> | <i>yarrb.ka.rra</i> | <i>jinj.ku</i> | <i>yal.kurrng.ku.di</i> |
| 'small swamp' | 'to each one' | 'wood-chip' | 'brolga' |
| <i>minj.kuj.ku</i> | <i>wirrk.burrk.bu</i> | <i>lirrb.ju</i> | |
| 'egg yolk' | 'white' | 'throw down' | |

Since [-nasal] sonorants are higher in sonority than stops or [+nasal] sonorants, and assuming syllable nuclei are peaks of sonorance while syllable edges are sonorance troughs, the first two segments of triconsonantal clusters form the coda of one syllable while the third segment is the onset to the next syllable. This would lead us to expect that the only clusters allowed in word-final positions consist of a [-nasal] sonorant followed by a nasal or stop. In fact the only word-final clusters found in Jingulu are all sequences of a [-nasal] sonorant followed by a (peripheral) stop:

¹⁰ In this regard, /ly/ appears to be a marked segment cross-linguistically. Romance languages also have the distributed laminal in their phoneme inventories but do not allow it in word-initial position.

- (2.9) *burr**b*** *warr**b*** *jurrk* (*baj-*) *bijarrk* (*baj-*)
 ‘finished’ ‘all together’ ‘rip’ ‘squeeze’

 walk *dalk* *dulk* *jambilk*
 ‘open’ ‘up, straight’ ‘up, straight’ ‘dented’

For the most part these words are either adverbs or else preverbal manner adverbs which appear only with a specific verb or class of verbs following them. Therefore they are almost never found clause-finally. In elicitation, however, the word is pronounced with the cluster final (without epenthesis of any following vowel).

All remaining clusters are therefore analysed as coda plus onset sequences. The attested clusters are set out in **Table 2.1**, with the columns representing the first consonant in the cluster (the coda) and the rows representing the second consonant (the onset).

Table 2.1: Permissible consonant clusters

[illegible]

As expected, neither of the consonants prohibited in word-initial position (/rr/ and /ly/) can appear as the second consonant in a cluster (because they are illegitimate onsets), and neither of the glides /w/ and /y/, which are barred from word-final position, can begin a cluster (being ruled out in coda position). This leads to the conclusion that all sequences of /VrrV/ or /VlyV/ (V is any vowel) are syllabified as /Vrr.V/ and /Vly.V/ respectively, resulting in word-medial onsetless syllables. The liquids ([+sonorant, -nasal] consonants) are in fact generally banned from appearing as the second element of a cluster, though most of them are found word-initially. This discrepancy can be explained by the following constraint on sonority across syllable boundaries: a coda should be at least as sonorous as the subsequent onset.¹¹ Thus in a sequence C₁.C₂ (where the period represents a syllable boundary), C₁ may in general not be less sonorous than C₂. The sonority scale, as described by Kenstowicz (1994), is given in (2.10).

(2.10)	stops	<<<	nasals	<<<	liquids	<<<	glides	<<<	vowels
	least sonorous					most sonorous			

Liquids are the most sonorous consonants after glides, and therefore cannot occur as the second consonant in a coda cluster (glides being independently barred from codas). Most of the gaps in the paradigm in Table 2.1 can be explained in terms of these sonority constraints plus a few independent restrictions on feature contours.

Like other [-consonantal] sonorants (glides), /r/ is barred word-finally, but it can begin a cluster when followed by a stop or nasal. I conclude from this that /r/ is only permitted in complex codas, where it is followed by a tautosyllabic stop or nasal, as in the triconsonantal clusters in (2.8). This means that all occurrences of /r/+C (where C is any consonant) represent complex codas, so that any sequence rCV (where V is a vowel) syllabifies as rC.V. This leads to the conclusion that the word *waarkini* ('curlew') must be syllabified as *waark.i.ni*, with the medial syllable lacking an onset.

The sonority hierarchy alone predicts the fact that stops may only be followed in clusters by other stops. The sequence /jm/ is now a problematic exception, but it occurs in only three words: *nyurijminji* 'golden whistler'; *dirndijmana* 'fruit bat', which is cited in Chadwick (1975) but consistently rejected by the speakers with whom I worked; and *warrijmajka* 'killer', which appears to consist of the independent morpheme /warrij/ plus the sequence /majka/, which could be historically related to the nominalising suffix /-ajka(la)/ (see §3.2.1). The sonority hierarchy also predicts that nasals may only be followed by other nasals and stops.

Sonority alone would also predict that liquids should make excellent codas, but in clusters they generally only precede labial and dorsal (peripheral) stops and nasals. The generalisation from Table 2.1 is that, within a cluster (i.e. where no vowel intervenes), a transition from [-distributed] to [+distributed] is permitted, but a transition from [+distributed] to [-distributed] is prohibited. Changes from [-anterior] to [+anterior]

¹¹ In claiming that this holds in Jingulu, no claim should be inferred about the universality of this constraint, though it has been noted as a strong cross-linguistic tendency (e.g. in Kenstowicz 1994).

are also ruled out, and changes from [+anterior] to [-anterior] are only permitted if they are effected by the tongue blade, in other words if the second element in the sequence is [+distributed]. The constraint can be thought of as one against subsequent movements of the same coronal organ (tongue blade or tip, considered here as separate organs) without an intervening vowel. This also applies to changes in stricture, ruling out sequences of [+lateral] followed by [-lateral] (the opposite ordering being ruled out by sonority principles). Rhotics may precede palatal stops as this involves a change from [-lateral, -distributed] (a 'tongue tip' sound) to [-lateral, +distributed] (a 'tongue blade' sound). This provides an argument for considering [\pm distributed] to be independent of [\pm anterior], despite the fact that no Jingulu phoneme is [+anterior, +distributed], because the specification [-distributed] is required on non-retroflexed apicals in order to rule out sequences of palatal + non-retroflexed apical. In this model these sequences are ruled out because they involve progression from [+distributed] to [-distributed], which involves movement of the tongue blade without an intervening vowel.

Homorganic nasal+stop clusters are allowed, since these do not involve movement of the coronal articulator, only of the soft palate. Sequences of alveolar+retroflex or retroflex+alveolar are ruled out by the constraint against coronal movement. Such sequences would involve movement of the tongue tip from [α anterior] to [- α anterior], maintaining [-distributed], without an intervening vowel. Note that sequences of retroflexes are represented orthographically with a single preceding 'r' taking scope over both the following consonants, so /rn/+/rd/ is written 'rnd'. It could also be argued that, just as retroflex and alveolar consonants cannot be distinguished in word-initial position, neither can they be distinguished post-consonantly (in onset position), so no sequence of non-retroflex consonant plus retroflex consonant is expected in any case.

The absence of [-distributed] nasal + [+distributed] stop/nasal clusters is interesting, given that [-distributed] stop+ [+distributed] stop is allowed. When a [-distributed] nasal (/n/ or /rn/) is placed next to a [+distributed] stop within a word, the nasal becomes [-anterior, +distributed] (/ny/). For instance, the word for '*Acacia holoserica*' is pronounced [mirrinmirrinji], deriving (historically) from reduplication of a root */mirrin/ plus gender suffix /-ji/. The /n/ preceding the /j/ becomes [+distributed]. Since there are no examples of /n/+/j/ or (/rn/+/j/) as distinct from /ny/+/j/, palatal nasal+stop sequences are written 'nj' by convention, so the word for '*Acacia holoserica*' is written 'mirrinmirrinji'.

Any nasal can be followed by any bilabial, but only the [-distributed] coronal nasals (/n/ and /rn/) can be followed by both coronal and velar stops, while the velar nasal /ng/ can be followed by palatal and velar stops but not [-distributed] coronal stops (the behaviour of the palatal nasal /ny/ was explained in the preceding paragraph). We can generalise across these cases by stating that a nasal which is not [Coronal, -distributed] cannot be followed by a consonant which is [Coronal, -distributed]. This generalisation seems quite stipulative and is peculiar to Jingulu.

The absence of the cluster /bd/ still remains unexplained, and I assume that this is an accidental gap in the vocabulary.

2.3 Stress

In Jingulu, all and only vowels count as stress bearing units (SBUs). Long vowels (/iyi/, /uwu/ and /aa/) and diphthongs (/awu/, /ayi/ etc.) contain two SBUs. Consonantal codas do not affect stress, so that syllables with codas do not behave any differently from syllables without codas with respect to stress. However, there is a tendency for syllables with codas to be stressed, suggesting that modern Jingulu might have evolved from a language in which heavy syllables (those with codas) regularly attracted stress.

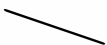
2.3.1 Word stress

The generalisations in this section apply to monomorphemic words only (those with no affixes). The interaction of stress and affixation is discussed in §2.3.2.

Words of two SBUs are stressed on the initial SBU. Words of three SBUs are generally stressed on the second SBU. Thus there is a general pattern of penultimate stress, as indicated in (2.11). (In the examples below the symbol ['] over a vowel is used to indicate primary stress, while [ˈ] indicates secondary stress.)

- | | | | |
|--------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| (2.11) | <i>ngáwu</i>
'camp' | <i>lála</i>
'father' | <i>ngíni</i>
'that (one)' |
| | <i>kandírri</i>
'bread, damper' | <i>dankúrra</i>
'yellow' | <i>jarrárda</i>
'song' |

Those three-SBU words that have penultimate stress sound (to English-speaking ears, at least) as though there is a slight stress on the initial SBU as well. This is because the pitch contour of all three SBU words falls from the start of a word to the end. Therefore the initial SBU has higher pitch than the second, although the second has greater stress (slightly longer duration and greater amplitude). This is somewhat like the phenomenon described as pitch-accent, except that it is never contrastive. The difference between pitch and stress are indicated below:

- (2.12)
- | | |
|---------|---|
| pitch: |  |
| melody: | kandirri |
| stress: | - ' - |

It should be noted that this description is based on my own listening alone, and has not been tested with instruments. An instrumental study would be useful to determine what the acoustic correlates of stress in Jingulu are, given that length is contrastive and pitch appears to be somewhat independent of stress. That would appear to leave amplitude (loudness) as the only possible acoustic manifestation of phonological stress, though I suspect that stressed vowels are also somewhat lengthened

compared to unstressed ones (though not lengthened so much as to constitute a long vowel).

Among three-SBU words there are a large number of lexical exceptions which bear main stress on the initial SBU. This pattern is common to the Pama-Nyungan languages spoken in and to the south and west of Jingili country, and it seems, by comparison of Chadwick's (1975) observations with my own, that this pattern is becoming more common, such that this pattern with final dactyls is not so much an exception but a major lexical class.

- (2.13) *kújika* *bárdarda* *bákuri* *bírriyi*
 'initiation, song' 'younger brother' 'headband' 'shivering'

Some of these words are more recent borrowings from Pama-Nyungan languages, such as *wárlaku* ('dog'), which exists alongside *kunyárrba* ('dog'). Aside from its use in the local Pama-Nyungan language Mudburra, it is clear that *wárlaku* is borrowed because it is a masculine nominal yet does not bear the final /a/ typical of masculine nominals. The word *kújika* is in common usage throughout a large part of the Northern Territory, in many languages. In addition to borrowings, speakers of the Kuwarrangu dialect often pronounce words with the Pama-Nyungan initial stress pattern which speakers of the Warranganku dialect pronounce with penultimate stress (as mentioned in §1.1.4).

Words of three SBUs in the dictionary (Pensalfini in preparation) can be assumed to bear main stress on the penultimate syllable unless otherwise indicated.

Four-SBU words generally have main stress on the penultimate SBU and secondary stress on the first:

- (2.14) *wàankúrra* *jàlurrúka* *míjuwúlu* *kàngkaála*
 'sugar bag' 'tea' 'salt' 'cattle bush'

Some four-SBU words have a single antepenultimate stress:

- (2.15) *kirángkuju* *kunájuru* *jinjáraku* *munúngkumi*
 melon species *Acacia coriacea* *Lophostemon* species 'string, wire'

Most of these words are botanical names (though not all four-SBU botanical names show this stress pattern), and will be marked in the dictionary (Pensalfini in preparation) as bearing unusual stress. All other four-SBU words show the standard stress pattern indicated in (2.14).

Five-SBU words always bear secondary stress on the initial SBU, but are almost evenly divided between words that have main stress on the penultimate SBU (initial dactyl words) and words that have main stress on the antepenultimate SBU (final dactyl words):

- (2.16) *ngàjalakúrru* *kùlabajárra* *bàkungunjíni*
 'mouth' 'hat' 'small black ant'

kürdijálaka
'mussel'

mündubárlimi
'wild onion'

lámurrángkurdi
'stinking turtle'

Stress patterns are given for all five-SBU words in the dictionary (Pensalfini in preparation).

The preferred stress pattern for six-SBU words involves two dactyls, with main stress falling on the antepenultimate SBU and secondary stress on the initial, as indicated in (2.17a). Six-SBU words in the dictionary (Pensalfini in preparation) can be assumed to have this stress pattern unless otherwise indicated. Other patterns are unusual but illustrated below in (2.17b).

- (2.17) a. *màrnkulukúlidi* *dànkurranybínyaku* *màrlangkabírrirni*
 'ear wax' 'yellow' 'centipede'
- b. *kuwàrndanbínyaka* *jàwulùngbulúngu* *ngàbarlikinyáka*
 'cormorant' 'moustache' 'half-brother'

There are no monomorphemic words of seven or more SBUs.

In summary, main stress always falls near the end of a word, but not on the final SBU, which must always be unstressed. If possible, the initial SBU does not bear main stress (this is impossible in two-SBU words or words which are lexically marked as having initial main stress such as Pama-Nyungan loans). Within these constraints there is some freedom, and indeed some words vary (not only from speaker to speaker, but also from utterance to utterance by a given speaker) in their stress placement:

- (2.18) *Nikilyikilyími* or *Nikilyikilyimi*
 creek name

2.3.2 Stress and suffixes

The interaction of stress with suffixation suggests that stress is assigned to whole words (stems plus suffixes) whilst paying attention to morpheme boundaries. Suffixes containing only one SBU generally do not affect stress (unaffixes stems, with their stress, are given in parentheses):

- (2.19) *ngáwu-ngka* (*ngáwu*) *dár-ra-mi* (*dár-ra*)
 camp-ALL eat-IRR
- wáya-ngka* (*wáya*) *líl-i-rni* (*lála*)
 wire-ALL 'paternal aunt' (father-fem)

As (2.19) shows, this applies to feminine nominals derived from masculine nominals, so that *lílirni* ('paternal aunt') is treated as being derived from *lála* + feminine and is not an irregularly (initial-) stressed word. In this, derived feminine words differ from

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>c. <i>bùnbaku-mbìli-ni</i> (<i>bùnbaku</i>)
fight-LOC-FOC</p> <p><i>yùkulyàrri-nà-ngkamí-rni</i> (<i>yùkulyàrri</i>)
goat-DAT-ABL-FOC</p> <p><i>Míndu-wa.</i> (no root)
1dllnc-will.go
'You and I will go.'</p> <p><i>Dùla-ngá-rruku.</i> (<i>dúl-</i>)
seek-1sg-went
'I went looking for him.'</p> <p><i>Dùnji-ngínyu-nu.</i> (<i>dúnj-</i>)
kiss-1plS.3O-did
'We kissed them.'</p> <p>d. <i>Ngàba-ngà-ana-rriki.</i> (<i>ngàba</i>)
have-2sg-1O-went
'You took me there.'</p> <p><i>Yà-jiyími.</i> (no root)
3sg-come
'Here he comes.'</p> | <p><i>ngàwu-ngkámí-rni</i> (<i>ngàwu</i>)
camp-ABL-FOC</p> <p><i>ngínda-bíla-rni</i> (<i>ngínda</i>)
that(m)-dl-ERG</p> <p><i>Làdaji-wúnyu-ju.</i> (<i>ládaj-</i>)
dry.out-3dl-do
'Those two are drying out.'</p> <p><i>Níngki-míndu-nu.</i> (<i>nángk-</i>)
chop-1dllnc-did
'You and I chopped them.'</p> <p><i>Màya-ána-nu.</i> (<i>máy-</i>)
hit-1O-did
'He hit me.'</p> <p><i>Dírrk bíji-kúnya-ána-nu.</i> (<i>dírrk báj-</i>)
pull-2dl-1O-did
'You two pulled me out.'</p> <p><i>Ngá-rruku.</i> (no root)
1sg-went
'I went.'</p> |
|---|---|

As exceptions to the above generalisations, two words were found in which a disyllabic suffix caused main stress to appear on the SBU preceding the suffix:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>(223) <i>bíninjá-ngkuji</i> (<i>bíninja</i>)
man-HAVING
'married (woman)'</p> | <p><i>ngùjaná-jkála</i> (<i>ngújan-</i>)
be.greedy-NOML
'greedy'</p> |
|--|--|

As these two words are truly exceptions, I can only assume that these words have become lexicalised as unsuffixed stems and are treated as five-SBU words

2.4 Vowel harmony

Jingulu displays regressive vowel height harmony (suffixes can trigger harmony in the roots to which they attach) in both nominal and verbal words. In order to trigger harmony, a suffix must not only contain a high vowel and be adjacent to the root, but must also belong to a specific morphosyntactic paradigm.

2.4.1 Jingulu harmony described in terms of feature-spreading

In Jingulu only certain suffixes trigger harmony, but harmony applies to all roots. Nominals (free nouns and adjectives) and verb roots both exhibit harmony, but each under different morphosyntactic conditions. Common to both is the phonological process. The presence of a [+high] vowel (/i/ or /u/) in an affix of a particular class (to be defined) causes adjacent low vowels in the root to become [+high]:

(224)	a.	<i>warlaku</i> dog	+	/-rni/ f	→	<i>warlakurni</i> 'bitch'
	b.	<i>ngamurla</i> big	+	/-rni/ f	→	<i>ngamurlirni</i> 'big (f)'
	c.	<i>ankila</i> cross cousin	+	/-rni/ f	→	<i>ankilirni</i> 'female cross cousin'
	d.	<i>kunyarrba</i> dog	+	/-rni/ f	→	<i>kunyirrbirni</i> 'bitch'
	e.	<i>mamambiyaka</i> soft	+	/-mi/ v	→	<i>mamambiyikimi</i> 'soft (v)'
	f.	<i>bardarda</i> younger brother	+	/-rni/ f	→	<i>birdirdirni</i> 'younger sister'
	g.	<i>ngaj-</i> see	+	/-mindi-yi/ 1dl.Inc-FUT	→	<i>ngijimindiya</i> 'we will see'
	h.	<i>ngarrabaj-</i> tell	+	/-wurru-nu/ 3pl-did	→	<i>ngirribijiwurrunu</i> 'they told (it to him)'

In (2.24a) the final vowel of the root is already [+high], so there is no change. If the final vowel of the the root is the non-high vowel (/a/), it becomes [+high] (/i/), as in (2.24b–f). Adjacent non-high vowels in the root are also changed to [+high], as demonstrated in (2.24d–h). In (2.24d–e) the last two vowels in the root both change from /a/ to /i/, and in (2.24f–h) all of the vowels in the root change from /a/ to /i/. Note that verb roots also involve the insertion of a linking vowel between the root and agreement marker (2.24g–h), which is discussed in §2.5.1. If the root contains a [+high] vowel, however, non-high vowels preceding it (to its left) never change to [+high], so that the first vowel in (2.24b–c) or the first two vowels in (2.24e) do not change to /i/, because an underlyingly [+high] vowel intervenes between them and the suffix which triggers harmony.

Jingulu harmony can thus be viewed as the spreading of the feature [+high] from a suffix vowel into the root. Spreading continues until a [+high] vowel (/i/ or /u/) is encountered in the root, and no further. Recall from (2.1), repeated below, that the vowel system of Jingulu consists of the following feature bundles (phonemes):

[-consonantal, [DORSAL: +high, +round]]	=	/u/
[-consonantal, [DORSAL: +high, -round]]	=	/i/
[-consonantal, [DORSAL: -round]]	usually surfaces as	/a/

Harmony spreads the [+high] from a triggering position to the left until it encounters a previously specified [+high], which it does not cross. The phonetic realisation component fills in [-high] as the height value for all vowels which are not phonologically specified as [+high]. The vowel that surfaces as /a/ is underlyingly unspecified for height.

The forms in (2.24) are derived thus:

- (225) a. warlaku + /-rni/ → warlaku-rni
 | | | |
 [+hi] [+hi] [+hi] [hi]
- b. ngamurla + /-rni/ → ngamurli-rni
 | | | |
 [+hi] [+hi] [+hi] [hi]
- c. ankila + /-rni/ → ankili-rni
 | | | |
 [+hi] [+hi] [+hi] [hi]
- d. kunyarrba + /-rni/ → kunyirrbi-rni
 | | | |
 [+hi] [+hi] [+hi] [hi]
- e. mamambiyaka + /-mi/ → mamambiyiki -mi
 | | | |
 [+hi] [+hi] [+hi] [hi]
- f. bardarda + /-rni/ → birdirdi-rni
 | | | |
 [+hi] [+hi] [+hi] [hi]

g. ngaja	+	/-mindi- yi/ →	ngiji -mindi -yi
		[+hi][+hi][+hi]	[+hi][+hi][+hi]
h. ngarrabaj	+	/-wurru-nu/ →	ngirribiji wurrunu
		[+hi][+hi][+hi]	[+hi][+hi][+hi]

2.4.2 Putting a finger on the trigger

In the previous section, we have seen what changes are triggered in the root when harmony occurs. In this section, we will attempt to characterise the class or classes of suffix that act as triggers for harmony.

2.4.2.1 Nominals

In nominals, it is the gender affixes which contain /i/ that trigger harmony. Jingulu has four genders, each of which has a characteristic ending (set out in (2.26)). Suffixes corresponding to the characteristic endings are used to change the gender of a nominal (deriving feminine from masculine nouns and in adjectival concord; see Chadwick 1975 and §5.3.1 of this grammar for details).

(226)	<u>gender</u>	<u>characteristic ending</u>
	masculine	[a]
	feminine	[rni] or [rdi]
	neuter	[u] or a consonant
	vegetable	[mi] or [bi]

When the feminine or vegetable endings are added to a nominal, harmony is induced in the root according to the principles set out in §2.4.1. Examples are given in (2.24a–e).

One immediate question that arises is why the neuter ending /-u/ does not induce harmony (especially given that subject agreement morphemes containing /u/ do induce harmony; see §2.4.2.2). The only possibility which suggests itself is that the neuter form of nominals is the unmarked underlying form, and therefore that there is no suffixation involved in forming a neuter nominal, while the three other genders are formed by deletion of final [u] and suffixation of the characteristic ending (see §5.3.1 for more extensive discussion and evidence).

Gender endings are the only suffixes which induce harmony in nominal roots. Number markers and case markers containing high /i/ do not induce harmony even if there is no material intervening between them and the root:

- (227) a. *bardarda-rni* (vs *birdirdirni*)
 younger brother-ERG ('younger sister')
- b. *jikaya-mbili*
 lake-LOC
- c. *wawa-bila* (vs *wiwirni*)
 child-dl.anim ('girl')
- d. *mamambiyaka-bila* (vs *mamambiyikimi*)
 soft-dl ('soft (v)')

It can be argued that number and case suffixes are always suffixed to gender suffixes, and this is quite clear for gender-changing nominals such as agreeing adjectives and nouns for higher animates. In §5.3.1, I argue that free nominals also always bear gender suffixes, with the gender suffix being what identifies the word as nominal.

2.4.2.2 Verbs

As discussed at length in Chapters 3, 4, and 6, verb words consist of an optional root followed by (obligatory) agreement markers and a light verb which bears tense and aspect features. Harmony in verb roots is triggered by adjacent non-singular subject agreement morphemes, and also by the Imperative of motion /-yirri/ and the negative Imperative /-ji/. These triggers all contain [+high] vowels (/i/ or /u/) in their first syllable.

- (228) a. *Ngangarra ngaja-nga-ju.*
 wild.rice see-1sg-do
 'I can see wild rice.'
- b. *Ngangarra ngiji-ngurru-ju.*
 wild.rice see-1pl.Inc-do
 'We can see wild rice.'
- c. *Ngiji-kunyi-ju ngangarra?*
 see-2dl-do wild.rice
 'Can you two see the wild rice?'
- d. *Mankiya-ju ambaya-ju.*
 sit-do talk-do
 'He's sitting down talking.'

- e. *Nyami-rni ngaya mankiyi-mindi-ju, marrinkyu imbiyi-mindu-ju.*
 2sg.NOM-FOC 1sg.NOM sit-1dl.Inc-do language talk-1dl.Inc-do
 'You and I are sitting, talking language.'
- f. *Ngininiki dika maja-nga-yi kurlukurlu.*
 this(n) fat get-1sg-FUT small(n)
 'I'll get a little bit of this fat.'
- g. *Ngunu buba miji-yirri!*
 DEM(n) fire get-go.IMPV
 'Go get some firewood!'
- h. *Ngarrabaja-mi jamaniki-rni marliyi-ngirri-ju!*
 tell-go.IMPV this(m)-FOC sick-1pl.Exc-do
 'Tell that person that we're sick.'
- i. *Ngirribiji-ji ngininiki-rna.*
 tell-NEG.IMPV this(n)-FOC
 'Don't go spreading this around!'

In (2.28a) the root /ngaj-/ appears in its unharmonised form, [ngaja], as the subject marker contains the non-high vowel /a/. The forms in (2.28b-c) show the same root appearing with a subject marker which contains a [+high] vowel. The roots in (2.28d) show no harmony as their subject is third person singular (null agreement), while in (2.28e) the same roots appear with a subject marker containing a [+high] vowel, and so harmony is induced. Note once again that the first /a/ of the root /mankiy-/ is unaffected because the underlying [+high] vowel in the root blocks the spread of the suffix's [+high] beyond it. In (2.28g) harmony is induced by the Imperative of motion /-yirri/, while the same root is shown in its unharmonised form in (2.28f). The unharmonised form of the root /ngarrabaj-/ in (2.28h) is contrasted with the form in (2.28i), where harmony is triggered by the negative Imperative /-ji/.

All of the subject agreement markers which induce harmony mark non-singular subjects, the singular subject markers all containing low vowels. However, it is not sufficient to state the trigger in morphological terms, for non-singular subject agreement markers do not always trigger harmony:

- (2.29) *Ngaja-arru-mi nginda langanda-ju kijurlurlu-mbili jangkiyi!*
 see-2pl.IMPV-IRR that(m) climb-do rock-LOC high
 'You fellas look at him climbing high on the rock!'

The clause-initial verb in (2.29) bears the unusual subject agreement marker /-arru/, which is used only in imperatives. The regular second person plural marker /-kurru/ triggers harmony, but /-arru/ does not, as it does not contain a [+high] vowel in its first syllable. The relevant property of the trigger, then, is not that it indicates a non-singular subject, but that it contains a [+high] vowel.

Other verb suffixes containing [+high] vowels, such as second person object agreement /-nyu-/ (2.30a), the Irrealis marker /-mi/ ((2.30b–c), usually used as an imperative), and the inverse marker /-ni-/ (2.30d), do not trigger harmony, even when immediately adjacent to the root:

- (230) a. *Wawa-rni ngaja-nyu-nu.*
 child-ERG see-2O-did
 'The child saw you.'
- b. *Kuka maja-mi!*
 grandfather get-IRR
 'Get Grandpa!'
- c. *Ngangarra ngaja-mi!*
 wild.rice see-IRR
 'Look at the wild rice!'
- d. *Kijurlurlu-ngkami ngaja-ni-ngurru-ju.*
 stone-ABL see-INV-1pl.Inc-do
 'He sees us from the rock.'

In summary, all of the suffixes that trigger harmony in verbs contain [+high] vowels, but not all suffixes that contain [+high] vowels are able to trigger harmony, even if they occur immediately adjacent to the root.

The difference between the two sets of morphemes is that the morphemes which trigger harmony when adjacent to the root (subject agreement, /-yirri/ and /-ji/) **always** appear adjacent to the root, and are never preceded by other material. As demonstrated in (2.31a–b), /-yirri/ and /-ji/ cannot co-occur with subject agreement, while object marking (2.31c) and the Irrealis/Imperative marker /-mi/ (2.31d–e) can both be preceded by overt subject marking.

- (231) a. **Miji-kurri-yirri!*
 get-2pl-go.IMPV
 'Go and get it!'
- b. **Ngirribiji-kunyi-ji!*
 tell-2dl-NEG.IMPV
 'Don't you two tell anyone!'
- c. *Ngiji-ngirri-nyu-nu kunyaku.*
 see-1pl.Exc-2O-did 2dl.ACC
 'We saw you two.'

- d. *Arduwa-nama kunyila langalanga-nya-mi.*
 slow-time 2dl.NOM think-2sg-IRR
 'Just you think about it first.'
- e. *Ngunya-ana-mi kungka.*
 give-IO-IRR another(n)
 'Give me another one!'

The resulting generalisation is that, for both nominals and verbs, the suffixes which trigger harmony are those suffixes which contain [+high] vowels and which cannot be preceded in the word by any material other than the root. Other suffixes containing [+high] vowels do not trigger harmony, even when no material intervenes between them and the root. For a formal theoretical analysis of this phenomenon, see Pensalfini (2002).

The effect of vowel harmony in Jingulu is striking, with the distinction between two of its three vowels collapsing wherever harmony takes place. Some lexical distinctions can be lost as a result. For instance, the masculine kinship terms *baba* and *biba*, meaning 'older brother' and 'son' respectively, both have the feminine form *bibirni*, which means both 'older sister' and 'daughter'. It is important to note that the language only ever displays harmony in the marked forms of words. The feminine can be considered marked because masculine agreement and forms are always allowed (even with feminine referents), so that *baba* can mean 'older sibling' generally. Similarly masculine or neuter agreement can occur with vegetable gender nominals. Masculine referents, on the other hand, can only ever be represented by masculine nominal forms (this is discussed in detail in §5.3.1.3). With verbs, non-singular subject agreement is similarly optional, so that singular subject agreement can indicate non-singular subjects (as demonstrated in (2.31d) and discussed in §5.3.2.2). Singular subjects, on the other hand, cannot be represented by non-singular agreement forms. The negative imperative morpheme /-ji/ is not the only way to indicate a negative imperative: the irrealis form of the verb in conjunction with the negation *angkula* can also create a negative imperative. Harmony never occurs in the unmarked or default forms. From a functional perspective, therefore, this regressive harmony could be said to operate as a 'flag', an attention-seeking device, indicating that a marked inflection is coming up. This seems to outweigh the need to maintain phonological height distinctions between the vowels.

2.5 Morphophonology

Phonology interacts with morphology in a number of interesting ways, from phonologically conditioned allomorphy to the elaborate regressive harmony discussed in the previous section. In this section we consider cases of phonologically conditioned and free allomorphy, and conclude with an examination of the types of reduplication found in Jingulu, in which morphology and prosody interact.

2.5.1 Linking vowels

In the dictionary (Pensalfini in preparation) coverbal roots are commonly given in a form which ends in a consonant plus a hyphen (e.g. *ngaj-* 'see'). A vowel is generally found between this form of the root and the core clause (the agreement+light verb complex), or the end of the word where no core clause is attached. The form of this vowel cannot be described in terms of harmony alone, as it is not a simple /a/~i/ alternation dependent on the form of the subject agreement marker. The variation rather depends on the combination of the root and the following morpheme, and there is a high degree of free variation. These vowels fulfil no function other than to provide a phonological link between the root and material which follows it.

If there is no morpheme following, the vowel is always the same as the final underlying vowel of the root. The structures in (2.32) are subordinate clauses (discussed in §4.2.2), which permit coverbal roots to occur without a following verb.

- (232) a. ... *walanja lakud bili*
 goanna bury
 '... bury the goanna'
- b. ... *ngaba ngarru kijurlurlu ngarlarli!*
 have 1sg.ACC stone hither
 '... bring that stone here to me'

When a suffix follows the root the linking vowel is generally /a/ (as in (2.33a–c)), unless the following suffix is a harmony inducing suffix, in which case the theme vowel is usually /i/ (2.33d–e), but may optionally be /u/ if the harmony-inducing suffix contains /u/ (2.33f). This choice is quite free, and speakers will often give both variants within the same short stretch of text, as in (2.33g).

- (233) a. *Warrkija-nga-nku-ju.*
 scratch-1sg-REFL-do
 'I rub myself.'
- b. *Aji-rni ngaja-nu?*
 who-ERG see-did
 'Who was looking?'
- c. *Warrk baja-mi ngindi-rni ngaja-yi!*
 open-IRR DEM(m)-FOC see-FUT
 'Open it up so she can have a look!'
- d. *Mindiyila ilk bili-mindi-yi ngininiki-rni.*
 1dl.Inc.NOM paint-1dl.Inc-FUT this(n)-FOC
 'We'll both paint this.'

- e. *Ngiji-wunyu-nku-ju jama-bila-rni-nu bayiny-bila-rni.*
 see-3dl-REFL-do that-dl-ERG-did person-dl-FOC
 'Those two are facing one another.'
- f. *Nginda nayurni ngiju-kurru-nu kurrarra-rni.*
 DEM(m) woman see-2pl-did 2pl.NOM-FOC
 'You mob saw those women.'
- g. *Miji-ngurri-yi mulurnmu-rna ngurru-wa mulurnma-rna laju*
 get-1pl.Inc-FUT turpentine-DAT 1pl.Inc-will.go turpentine-DAT grub
miju-ngurri-yi.
 get-1pl.Inc-FUT
 'We'll get them from the turpentine, we'll go get grubs from the
 turpentine tree.'

The second vowel of disyllabic agreement suffixes shows a great deal of variation, and this variation is not as predictable as the post-root linking vowel variation discussed above. Some of these variations are illustrated in (2.34).

- (2.34) a. *Nginda-baja miyi-wurru-na-nu ngurraku.*
 DEM(n)-pl hit-3pl-1O-did 1pl.Inc.ACC
 'Everyone hit us.'
- b. *Imbiyi-kunyi-yi ngirringi jimi-rni marrinju-nu.*
 talk-2dl-FUT straight this-FOC word-did¹²
 'Are you two going to talk straight?'
- c. *Kuyanganama mirrirdimi-kurra-ana-yi mujiya-nga-marri.*
 previously teach-2pl-1O-FUT forget-1sg-DIST
 'I've forgotten, you must teach me again.'
- d. *Nyima-rni maami nyurraji-mindi-yi.*
 DEM(v)-FOC food grind-1dl.Inc-FUT
 'We'll grind these ingredients.'
- e. *Dardu-wala warrb ngurru-ju.*
 mob all.together 1pl.Inc-do
 'The lot of us are all together.'

¹² Note the appearance of /-nu/ (glossed 'did') on *marrinju* ('word') in this example. Morphemes typically used to mark tense (along with aspect, mood, and associated motion), and analysed in this grammar as verbal heads (see Chapter 3), sometimes appear on nominals with deictic function. This is discussed in §6.2.4.

- f. *Burraala dajba-ni-kurru-nu murrkunbala, ngaya kiwirra.*
 2pl.NOM bite-INV-2pl-did three.people 1sg.NOM none
 'It's bitten you three, not me.'
- g. *Ningki-mindu-wa darrangku dardu.*
 chop-1dl.Inc-will.go tree many
 'You and I will cut lots of logs.'
- h. *Ngibi-ngurra-yi wurraku nginda-baja-rni.*
 have-1pl.Inc-FUT 3pl.ACC that(m)-pl-FOC
 'We'll take them.'

While there is a preference for using the same vowel as in the preceding syllable (as in ((2.34a)), or more commonly the following one (as in ((2.34b–c))), other options are also allowed (2.34g–h). When the preceding and following vowels are the same, the linking vowel is always identical to these (2.34d–f).

2.5.2 Lexical alternations

2.5.2.1 Retroflex versus anterior coronals

All suffixes which have realisations containing [-anterior] (retroflexed) coronal nasals (such as Ergative/Focus/feminine /-rni/ and Dative /-rna/) also have realisations with [+anterior] coronal nasals. The non-retroflexed form typically follows syllables containing apical (anterior and retroflexed, but not palatal) stops and nasals, while the retroflexed form follows any other consonant. Some examples are given in (2.35). Full lists of morphemes and their allomorphs can be found in Chapters 5 and 6).

- (235) a. *Kakuwi darra-[rdi] jami-[rni]-[ni] dabarrangi-[rni].*
 fish eat-HAB that(m)-ERG-FOC pelican-ERG
 'The pelican eats fish.'
- b. *Kiranguju-nu darra-ardi buliki-[rni] dimana-[ni].*
 melon.sp.-did eat-HAB cow-ERG horse-ERG
 'Cows and horses eat this melon.'
- c. *Balika-nga-ju bundurru-[rna].*
 hungry-1sg-do food-DAT
 'I'm hungry for some food.'
- d. *Ngima ngaba-rriyi karnarrinyimi ngindi-[na] ngarnu.*
 that(v) have-will.go spear that(m)-DAT 3sg.GEN.m
 'He's going hunting with that (other) guy's spear.'

In (2.35a) the Ergative markers are realised as [-rni]. By contrast, the Ergative suffix on 'horse' in (2.35b) is realised as [-ni], because it follows the coronal nasal /n/ (but the Ergative suffix on 'cow' in the same sentence surfaces as [-rni]). The Dative marker in (2.35c) follows a coronal (/rr/), but this coronal is neither a stop nor a nasal and so Dative marking surfaces as [-rna], but in (2.35d) the Dative is realised as [-na] since it follows a coronal nasal+stop cluster (/nd/). The correlation between choice of [+anterior] or [-anterior] nasal and preceding consonant is stronger for the Ergative suffix than for the Dative, where [-rna] and [-na] are often found in free variation. As the allomorphs with the retroflex obstruents have the widest distribution, texts and sentence examples throughout this description are given with those forms. That is, the Ergative, Focus, and feminine suffixes are spelled 'rni' and the Dative is spelled 'rna', irrespective of surface realisation.

This distribution of retroflex versus anterior coronals cannot be seen as dissimilation, since the coronal which precedes the suffix need not be retroflexed in order to cause non-retroflexion of the coronal in the suffix. Formally in terms of the feature geometry outlined in §2.1, the generalisation can be stated as follows:

$$(236) \quad [-\text{anterior}] \rightarrow [+ \text{anterior}] / \left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{consonant} \\ -\text{continuant} \\ \text{Coronal:} \\ -\text{distributed} \end{array} \right] + [-\text{consonant}] + \left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{consonant} \\ \text{Coronal:} \\ -\text{distributed, __} \end{array} \right]$$

The above rule appears somewhat ad hoc in terms of feature geometry, and cannot be classified in terms of either spreading or dissimilation across the vowel. The pattern is somewhat reminiscent of the constraints on coronal+coronal clusters discussed in §2.2, however. In that section it was shown that the permitted coronal+coronal clusters could be distinguished from those that were not permitted by appealing to a principle of avoiding movement of the the coronal articulator(s) without an intervening vowel. The suffix alternations discussed here suggest that, in Jingulu, a [-distributed] coronal can only be followed by another [-distributed] coronal across a morpheme boundary if that second coronal is [+anterior]. Moving to a retroflexed coronal from any apical seems therefore to be more difficult than moving to a non-retroflexed one. The precise reason for this is not clear from the feature geometry given in §2.1, but it should be noted that contrastively retroflexed consonants are rare among the world's languages, and that Halle's (1992, 1995) feature geometry does not adequately capture the phonetic complexity of retroflexion.

In any case, the fact that this restriction on movement of the articulator holds despite the occurrence of an intervening vowel, argues in favour of a separate tier for at least consonants and vowels, as suggested by Goldsmith (1976).

2.5.2.2 Masculine suffixes

The final /a/ of masculine words (the gender suffix) becomes /i/ when many suffixes are added, including number and case/focus. This is optional except in the case of the masculine suffix /-na/ which occurs on possessive pronouns, which always changes to [-ni] before other suffixes.

- (237) a. *Jama-rni Jangalinginja ngandayi nyami-nga Nangalinginju-nga.*
 that(m)-FOC skin.name shade DEM-DAT.f skin.name -DAT.f
 'Jangalinginja is the other side of Nangalinginju.'
- b. *Jangalinginji-rni nangka-ju barrku.*
 skin.name-ERG cut-do nulla-nulla
 'Jangalinginja's cutting a nulla-nulla.'
- c. *Kirda ngarri-na wanyma-marri nginimbili.*
 father 1sg.GEN-m walk-DIST here
 'My father walked around here long ago.'
- d. *ngarri-ni-bila bardardi-yila*
 1sg.GEN-m-dl.anim younger.brother-dl
 'my two younger brothers'
- e. *Kanyi-rni ngarri-ni-rni ngaba-ju ngarri-nini wiwirni-rni.*
 uncle-ERG 1sg.GEN-m-ERG have-do 1sg.GEN-f girl-FOC
 'My uncle has my daughter.'
- f. *Karnarrinyimi ngarnu ngarri-ni-rna kanyi-rna.*
 spear 3sg.GEN 1sg.GEN-m-DAT uncle-DAT
 'That spear is my uncle's.'

While the masculine skin name in (2.37a) occurs with the characteristic final /a/, in (2.37b) it changes to /i/ because of the following Ergative suffix. Similarly the masculine agreement marker on the Genitive (possessive) pronoun in (2.37c) is /-na/, but in (2.37d-f) it surfaces as /ni/ because it is followed by another suffix. Note also the form [kanyi-] in (2.37e-f) as opposed to the citation form *kanya*.

2.5.3 Reduplication

Some words look as though they are derived historically from a reduplicated root, for example *irrimirrinji* 'Acacia holoserica', *diyardiya* 'feather', and *jurdumajurduma* '(Gouldian) finch', but the roots from which they appear to be derived are not otherwise used in Jingulu. In addition, there are several kinds of productive reduplication in Jingulu which apply to roots which do occur independently.

The most common kind of reduplication involves internal reduplication of the first VC(C) sequence in the root, which is then infix. The semantic contribution of this kind of reduplication varies, depending on the root.

- (238)
- | | | | | | |
|----|--------------------|--------------|---|-----------------------|--|
| a. | <i>marluka</i> | 'old man' | → | <i>marlarluka</i> | 'old men' ¹³ (* <i>marlukadarra</i>) |
| b. | <i>imikirni</i> | 'old woman' | → | <i>imimikirni</i> | 'old women' (* <i>imikirnidarra</i>) |
| c. | <i>mardilyi</i> | 'lame' | → | <i>mardardilyi</i> | 'lame folks' (* <i>mardilyidarra</i>) |
| d. | <i>jangkiyi</i> | 'high' | → | <i>jangkangkiyi</i> | 'summit' |
| e. | <i>mangkuru</i> | 'plain' | → | <i>mangkangkuru</i> | 'plains country' |
| f. | <i>nankuna</i> | 'cave' | → | <i>nankankuna</i> | 'cave country' |
| g. | <i>bundurru</i> | 'sated' | → | <i>bundundurru</i> | 'food' |
| h. | <i>jalyangku</i> | 'now' | → | <i>jalyalyangku</i> | 'in very recent times' |
| i. | <i>jabura</i> | 'first' | → | <i>jababura</i> | 'in olden times' |
| j. | <i>ngamurla</i> | 'big' | → | <i>ngamamurla</i> | 'huge' |
| k. | <i>ngardajkala</i> | 'huge' | → | <i>ngardardajkala</i> | 'immense' |
| l. | <i>wakiyabardu</i> | 'bad' | → | <i>wakakiyabardu</i> | 'terrible' |
| m. | <i>mankiy-</i> | 'sit' | → | <i>mankankiy-</i> | 'sit about' |
| n. | <i>manyen</i> | 'sleep' | → | <i>manyanyen</i> | 'try to get to sleep' |
| o. | <i>jukul-</i> | 'stop, camp' | → | <i>jukukul-</i> | 'tend to stop, camp often' |
| p. | <i>kalyarrum-</i> | 'swim' | → | <i>kalyalyarrum-</i> | 'swim along' |

If applied to nominals marking age or infirmity in humans, as in (2.38a–c), it indicates plurality. For this subclass of nominals, the regular plural formation, involving suffixation of /-darra/ (discussed in §5.3.2.1), is not available. If applied to adjectives or nouns indicating geographical or spatial location (2.38d–f), it forms a noun meaning 'place typified by ...'. If the infixing reduplication applies to a time adverbial, the resulting word denotes a time having those qualities (2.38h–i). Applied to regular descriptive adjectivals, the reduplication has an intensifying effect best translated into English by 'very' (2.38j–l). If applied to verbal roots or preverbs, this kind of reduplication implies distributive or repetitive aktionsart (2.38m–p). The example in (2.38g) does not quite fit any of these descriptions.

A less common, but still productive, reduplication pattern is illustrated in (2.39). This involves the total reduplication of the root, and seems to have the same semantic effect as the infixing reduplication illustrated in (2.38):

¹³ This form also means 'olden-day people'.

- (239) a. *warlumbu* 'bullwaddy' → *warlumbuwarlumbu* 'bullwaddy country'
 b. *karrijbi* 'track' → *karrijbikarrijbai* 'country travelled'
 c. *kunumburra* 'fast' → *kunumburrakunumburra* 'very fast'

The infixing reduplication illustrated in (2.38) is interesting from a phonological perspective, as the reduplicated portion of the base does not appear to correspond to a prosodic constituent in the base such as a syllable. As mentioned above, the reduplicant consists of a VC(C) (vowel+consonant(cluster)) sequence. The first vowel of the base and all consonants which follow it (up to but not including the next vowel) are copied, and the reduplicant is infixed after the first underlying consonant of the base (full stops represent syllable boundaries, and are included to show that reduplication pays no heed to syllable boundaries under this analysis):

- | | | | |
|--------|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------|
| (2.40) | a. ma.rlu.ka | = m+arluka
→ marlarluka | → m+arl+arluka |
| | d. jang.kiyi | = j+angkiki
→ jangkangkiki | → j+angk+angkiki |
| | f. nan.ku.na | = n+ankuna
→ nankankuna | → n+ank+ankuna |
| | k. wa.ki.yabardu | = w+akiyabardu
→ (w)akakiyabardu | → w+ak+akiyabardu |
| | o. ka.lya.rru.ma | = k+alyarruma
→ kalyalyarruma | → k+aly+alyarruma |

This reduplication pattern is found in a number of languages in the Northern Territory, in a contiguous area with Jingulu approximately at its centre (Nash and Simpson 1996). The area does not correspond to either genetic or typological boundaries, so this phenomenon is a good example of areal diffusion.

The copying of a vowel and all following consonants is reminiscent of the Arrernte reduplication patterns discussed by Breen and Pensalfini (1999). In Arrernte, however, this kind of reduplication pattern shows up in a range of productive morphology, and is believed to be a result of the lack of onsets in Arrernte, resulting in all consonants being syllabified as codas, and thus all sequences of a vowel and all following consonants constitute syllables. In fact, Breen and Pensalfini use this reduplication type as evidence for the onsetlessness of Arrernte syllables, but they also give a variety of other morphophonological and phonological reasons for this conclusion. Jingulu, on the other hand, quite clearly prefers CV and CVC syllables. The sequence VC has no status in Jingulu. The targeted elements cannot be defined as rimes, because in many

cases the reduplicated portion of the word is not a rime but a rime and a following onset (for instance in (2.38d–g)). Various analysis of this reduplication pattern have recently been offered in the framework of Optimality Theory, including McCarthy and Prince (1993), Jones (1997), and Pensalfini (1999a).

3 *Parts of speech and derivation*

3.1 Parts of speech

Jingulu morphemes basically fall into two categories: those that can stand alone as words, and those that cannot. Upon inspection, the first category is very small, comprising pronouns, some demonstratives, and a class of adverbial elements (free adverbs of manner, place, time, and result). Other words seem to be made up of more than one morpheme. The minimal sentence, for instance, requires a light verb and either an overt subject marker or a coverbal root. The minimal nominal word requires either a nominal or adjectival root and a gender suffix. For the purposes of exposition, I will talk about the parts of speech in three broad categories: nominal, verbal, and adverbial.

3.1.1 Nominal

Pronouns consist of a stem which encodes person and number distinctions (and, for first person non-singular pronouns, inclusive versus exclusive contrast), plus predictable endings for Ergative (transitive subject), Accusative (object) and Genitive (possessor) case. The Nominative (intransitive subject and citation) forms are not entirely predictable, but seem to be the unmarked forms upon which the other three forms are based. Full paradigms are given in §5.2.

Referential nominals (including demonstratives) and adjectives behave differently from pronouns. In their Absolute (object, intransitive subject, and citation) forms, these words end with one of a restricted set of phonological sequences which appear to vary according to the word's gender. Harris (1991a, 1991b, 1996) argues that characteristic gender endings in Romance languages are to be considered 'word markers' and not inseparable parts of the root. These gender morphemes, /-a/ (masculine), Ø (neuter), /-rni/ (feminine) and /-mi/ (vegetable), and their morphophonological properties are detailed in §5.3.1.1.

Nominals can be further extended by case marking and morphological discourse marking. Case-marking is either indicative of syntactic function (transitive subject, indirect object, possessor) or is adpositional (goal, beneficiary, location, instrument etc.). These markers are discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

As noted by a number of authors (including Dixon 1980, Simpson 1991, Bittner and Hale 1995, and Baker 1996b), Australian languages often do not show any morphosyntactic contrast between nouns and adjectives. This differs from other two-category systems, such as those found in North America, which collapse verbs and adjectives into a single category. In Jingulu, however, there appear to be some reasons for considering nouns and adjectives to be at least partially distinct parts of speech.

As a point of departure for discussion, let us preliminarily distinguish nouns from adjectives on notional grounds: nouns are typically words which refer to entities, while adjectives typically describe properties of those entities. It is true that both nouns and adjectives show the same distributional and inflectional properties in Jingulu: both are able to stand alone as nominal expressions; when an adjective and a noun occur together they can occur in any order; both take the same range and forms of number, case and other inflections. One possible difference between nouns and adjectives is raised by Chadwick (1975), who points out that adjectives in Jingulu show concord with the gender of the referent they modify. So the word for 'good' has four forms: *bardakurra* (masculine), *bardakurru* (neuter), *bardakurrirni* (feminine), and *bardakurrimi* (vegetable). This is not a strong argument for a distinction between nouns and adjectives, since nouns too can agree with their referent in gender so long as the result is meaningful, so that the masculine nominal *wawa* ('child' or 'boy') has the feminine form *wiwirni* ('girl'). There is no neuter or vegetable form because this would be meaningless, or more formally the animate human requirement of the root /waw-/ is incompatible with the inanimate features of the neuter and vegetable N heads.

A much stronger argument for formally distinguishing nouns from adjectives in Jingulu comes from clauses in which they appear as main predicates. In these clauses, while nouns and adjectives show the same set of inflections, the case marking on their arguments (in square brackets in (3.1)) differs:

- (3.1) a. *Winiyiki-rni* [*nayurni ngarrirni*].
 foreign-f woman 1sg.GEN.f
 'My wife is a foreigner.'
- b. [*Miringmi*] *bardakurru-mi*.
 gum good-v
 'Gum is good.'
- c. [*Jama-rni-rni*] *jawularri-nama*.
 that-ERG-FOC young.man-time
 'He's still a young man.'
- d. *Babi-ila* *ngarri-ni-bila* [*jama-bila-rni-rni*].
 older.brother-dl 1sg.GEN-m-dl.anim DEM-dl.anim-ERG-FOC
 'Those two are my brothers.'

Nominals predicated of adjectives (as in (3.1a–b)) appear in the Absolutive (unmarked) case, while nominals predicated of nouns (as in (3.1c–d)) appear in the Ergative. Nominal predication is discussed at length in §4.1.2.1.

While proper names of places behave like other nominals, personal names are considered a distinct part of speech from other nominals and are discussed in §3.1.4 along with interjections.

3.1.2 Verbal

As mentioned earlier, the minimal verbal word, and indeed the minimal sentence, consists of a light verb and either an overt subject marker (3.2a) or a coverbal root (3.2b).

- (32) a. *Ngurru-wa*.
1pl.Inc-will.go
'Let's go.'
- b. *Nguka-ju*.
cry-do
'It's crying.'

The light verb is the final element in the verbal word, which Chadwick (1975) calls the 'final' tense-aspect marker, and treats as an inflectional element. However, I propose to treat this element as the verbal head, with agreement and coverbal roots prefixed to it. So while Chadwick considers the root to be the verb and the final element to be inflection, I consider this final element to be the core (syntactic) verb, and the root to be a category-less element which is the domain of real-world semantic variation but which otherwise bears no syntactic information. In this sense Jingulu verbs are all light verb constructions akin to English *take a look*, *take a leak*, *have a go*, *give (it) a smell*, *give (it) a push* and so forth, where the role of the semantically bleached light verb 'take' or 'give' in English is played by the final element in the Jingulu verb word, and the role of the nominalised verb object in the English constructions is played by the syntactically deficient coverbal root in Jingulu.¹

As evidence for this analysis, note that the final element is obligatory while the initial root is not (though this is only evidence if one believes that all non-nominal predications must contain a verb). Furthermore, the translation of English motion verbs into Jingulu is effected without coverbal roots. The final element, which I claim is the true syntactic verb, encodes not only inflectional properties such as tense, mood, and aspect, but also distinctly verbal notions such as associated motion. These elements fall into three broad classes, corresponding to the English verbs 'come' (3.3), 'go' (3.4) and 'do/be' (3.5). As can be seen from (3.3)–(3.5), these forms are fully suppletive—there

¹ A better analogy might be made with Basque verbal clauses, which appear to be obligatorily light verb constructions of this sort (see e.g. Saltarelli 1988).

is no way to predict a form of these elements given the rest of the paradigm. For the full paradigms see §6.2.1.

- (33) a. *Ya-jiyimi bininja.*
 3sg-come man
 ‘The man is coming.’
- b. *Ya-ngku ngurrarrungka.*
 3sg-will.come tomorrow
 ‘He’ll come tomorrow.’
- c. *Ya-miki murdika-mbili.*
 3sg-came car-LOC
 ‘He came in a car.’
- (34) a. *Nga-ardu.*
 1sg-go
 ‘I’m going.’
- b. *Nga-rriyi.*
 1sg-will.go
 ‘I’ll go.’
- c. *Nga-rruku idajku.*
 1sg-went yesterday
 ‘I went (there) yesterday.’
- (35) a. *Wayabij nya-ju.*
 tired 2sg-do
 ‘You are tired.’
- b. *Ngindimbili nga-nu.*
 here 1sg-did
 ‘I did it here.’
- c. *Wurraka-na ya-yi.*
 3plGEN-m 3sg-FUT
 ‘He’ll do it for them.’
- d. *Yukulurrubi ya-marri nginimbili.*
 grass.species 3sg-DIST here
 ‘There used to be *yukulurrubi* grass here.’

Equivalents of other English verbs in Jingulu are constructed by combining a coverbal root with one of these final elements to form a verbal word which includes the agreement

markers (as can be seen from any sentence which contains a root in the verb-word). Different combinations of root and final element can yield different English verbs in translation, as illustrated in (3.6).

- (3.6) a. *Ngaba-nga-ju karnarinymi.*
 have-1sg-do spear
 'I have a spear.'
- b. *Ngaba-nga-rriyi karnarinymi.*
 have-1sg-will.go spear
 'I'll take a spear.'
- c. *Ngaba-jiyimi karnarinymi.*
 have-come spear
 'He's bringing a spear.'
- d. *Ngaruk baka-nga-rriyi.*
 dive-1sg-will.go
 'I'll dive down.'
- e. *Ngaruk baka-nga-yi arduku.*
 dive-1sg-FUT something
 'I'll submerge something.'

Sentences (3.6a-c) show the same root, /ngab-/ ('have, hold'), used with different light verbs. In combination with a motion-neutral verb (3.6a), it yields the translation 'have' or 'hold'. In combination with a verb indicating motion away from the speaker or other salient referent (3.6b), it translates as 'take'. In combination with a verb indicating motion toward the speaker or other salient referent (3.6c), the meaning expressed is translated by 'bring'. Sentences (3.6d-e) show a similar alternation with the complex root /ngaruk bak-/ ('put under water'), but in this case the transitivity of the clause is also affected. In (3.6d), the root combines with a light verb indicating motion away, and no object is present or implied, so the resulting meaning is translated as 'dive (down)'. When the same root appears with a motion-neutral verb and an object, as in (3.6e), the translation is 'submerge'.

Further evidence that the verbal word should not be analysed as verb stem + agreement + tense/aspect/etc. inflection comes from the appearance of a few extremely rare cases (three sentences out of a corpus of some four and a half thousand) when a word intervenes between the coverbal root and the core clause (agreement + light verb, boldfaced in (3.7)):

- (3.7) a. *Kibardka ibilka-rni nya-yi ngardajkala-rni, nginda bunungkurru-mbili*
 bathe water-FOC 2sg-FUT big(m)-FOC that(m) billabong-LOC
miji-ngurri-nu kurdijalaka.
 get-1pl.Exc-did mussel
 'Wherever there's enough water for you to bathe, we would have gotten
 mussels in that billabong.'
- b. *Ambaya ngaya nga-nu Warranganku-mbili.*
 speak 1sg.NOM 1sg-did Beetaloo-LOC
 'I spoke about Beetaloo.'
- c. *Mankiyi arduku ngurri-yi ngini-ngka.*
 sit careful 1pl.Inc-FUT that(n)-ALL
 'We're all going to sit over there.'

In §4.1.1 a further syntactic argument in favour of this analysis is presented, based on the phenomenon of root ellipsis.

The analysis proposed here, whereby the final element is to be analysed as the verb and the initial element as a category-less root, has several significant ramifications. The first is that, being syntactically deficient (category-less), the coverbal root is always dependent on some other element for its syntactic category. In fact, with the exception of the sentences in (3.7), coverbal roots only ever occur prefixed to either light verbs (or agreement+light verb complexes), or to suffixes which turn them into nominals or adverbs (see §3.2), unless they occur in some kinds of subordinate clauses in which the lower verb can be gapped and the lower clause is interpreted with the identical verbal features of the verb in the main clause (see §4.2.2).

The analysis of the final element as the true syntactic verb of a clause also has ramifications for the typological classification of Jingulu. Previous classifications (e.g. Hale 1966) have described Jingulu as a suffixing, noun-classifying non-Pama-Nyungan language. The curiosity of this is that all the other noun-classifying Pama-Nyungan languages of the Northern Territory are prefixing in their verbal structure, with agreement markers preceding the element to which they affix. The classification of Jingulu as suffixing is based on the assumption of the root as the verb, with agreement suffixed to that, but under the analysis proposed here, Jingulu is a prefixing language, with agreement prefixed to the (core or light) verb, like other noun-classifying non-Pama-Nyungan languages.²

This analysis of coverbal roots makes them parallel to the nominal roots discussed in the previous section. Both are roots which are laden with encyclopedic information

² Wambaya prefixes its agreement markers to an auxiliary verb that is phonologically independent from the verbal root. The analysis of Jingulu advanced here makes Jingulu look more similar to Wambaya, with both of them prefixing agreement markers to 'light' verbal elements. The difference between these languages is that Jingulu lacks the means by which Wambaya verbal roots become independent verbal words, instead prefixing them to agreement+light verb complexes.

but devoid of formal syntactic features, and which must co-occur with grammatical morphemes. Interestingly, it is both and only nominal and verbal roots which are targets of vowel harmony (see §2.4). This suggests that these really collapse into only one part of speech: category-less roots. This might lead us to expect that a coverbal root bearing a gender-marking N-head can form a nominal, or that a nominal root bearing a light verb can form a clause. In actual fact, this turns out to be true only with those categories that form (stative) adjectival nominals (3.8a–f).

- (3.8) a. *Jamaniki marliya*.³
 this(m) sick(m)
 ‘He’s sick.’
- b. *Marliya-ju*.
 sick-do
 ‘He’s sick.’
- c. *Bardakurra nyami ngarru*.
 good(m) 2sg.NOM 1sg.ACC
 ‘You’re (being) good to me.’
- d. *Ngaja-nga-nki-yi bardakurriya-nga-yi*.
 see-1sg-REFL-FUT good-1sg-FUT
 ‘I feel like I’ll get better.’
- e. *Burdalyi-kaji ngangga darra-nga-yi*.
 cooked(m)-through meat eat-1sg-FUT
 ‘I will eat the well-cooked meat.’
- f. *Ngayi kurnnyu lujbi-burdalyi-yirri, then lakud bili*
 3sg.f.ACC skin burn-cooked-go.IMPV then bury

 langa bujbu!
 P(Kr) oven
 ‘Go burn its fur off then bury it in an earth oven!’
- g. *Nganya-ju*.
 sing-do
 ‘He’s singing.’

³ The adjectival use of the root /marliy-/ is extremely rare, though permitted. Interestingly, the feminine form, *marliyirni*, though it may mean ‘sick’, is usually used to mean ‘female (animals only)’.

- h. **nganya*/**nganyu*/**nginyi-rni*/**nginyi-mi*
 sing(m)/sing(n)/sing-f/sing-v
 ('song/singer ...')
- i. **Wawa-ju*.
 child-do
 ('He is/has a child.')
- k. *wawa/wiwi-rni*
 child(m)/child-f
 'boy/girl'

A coverbal root cannot be turned into a noun by simple addition of a nominal (gender) head (3.8g–h), nor can a nominal root be turned into a verb by addition of a light verb (3.8i–k). This is not, however, an argument against analysing all roots as belonging to the same part of speech. The reason for the facts in (3.8) depends upon the encyclopedic (real-world semantic) definitions of the root. An adjectival root such as /*marliy-*/ is defined in terms of a state like 'suffering from illness', which is compatible with both nominal and verbal heads, while a verbal root like /*ngany-*/ has a definition in terms of an activity like 'engage in the act of singing' which is entirely incompatible with nominal heads, and nominal roots like /*waw-*/ have definitions in terms of entities like 'human between birth and puberty', which is incompatible with verbal heads. Coverbal roots can be used to make nouns and adjectives, and nominal roots can be used to make verbs in some cases, but this requires the presence of a morpheme which mitigates this incompatibility. These are the so called 'derivational' morphemes which are discussed in §3.2.

One perhaps unexpected ramification of the syntactic deficiency of roots in Jingulu is that roots alone do not determine transitivity. Dixon (1980) claims that verbs in Australian languages are typically either strictly transitive or intransitive, but Jingulu seems to be an exception to this claim. The core verbs at the end of the verb word occur in the same forms in both transitive and intransitive clauses, as a brief glance at any selection of sentences from this grammar will show. We might suppose, then, that a clause's transitivity is determined by the coverbal root. This turns out to be true only to the extent that the semantics of a coverbal root will determine the number of arguments and the case frame which usually accompany the verb in a clause. However, all verbs appear to be syntactically ambivalent with respect to transitivity, and as long as the resultant clause is interpretable, any root may appear in either a transitive or an intransitive clause. An example is given in (3.9).

- (3.9) a. *Lakud bila-ardi. Lakud wurru-wardi jayili karalu-mbili.*
 bury-HAB bury 3pl-HAB inside ground-LOC
 'They are buried. They are buried under the ground.'
 [referring to cane toads during the day]

- b. *Jarlkandarru lakud bila-nga-rriyi karalu-ngka.*
 corpse bury-1sg-will.go ground-ALL
 'I must go and bury the dead in the earth.'

The root /bil-/ means either 'be located/have spatial properties' or 'cause to be located/have spatial properties', depending on its context. In the sentences in (3.9), it co-occurs with the adverbial element *lakud* 'buried/covered'. In (3.9a) it has an intransitive interpretation, meaning 'be buried', but in (3.9b) it is interpreted transitively, meaning 'bury (something)'.

Morphemes found between the coverbal root and the core verb include agreement markers (see §6.1.1 and §6.1.2), reflexive/reciprocal markers (§6.1.4) and inverse markers (§6.1.3.3). Discourse markers (§5.3.3.3) and switch reference markers (§4.2.2.6) follow the core verb.

It is possible to combine two coverbal roots into a single compound coverbal root, which is then prefixed to the agreement+light verb complex, as illustrated in (3.10). This should not be taken as evidence of verb serialisation in Jingulu, however, as it appears that no more than two verbs can be combined in this way, and the resulting structure is interpreted as a single clause, not as multiple clauses.

- (3.10) a. *Kuli-ngirri-marri, mayi-mi lakarr miji-ngirri-marriyimi yunku,*
 spear-1pl.Exc-DIST hit-IRR break-1pl.Exc-DIST foot

jarrumulu darra-miji-ngirri-marri.

thigh eat-get-1pl.Exc-DIST

'We speared it, breaking its leg so we could get it to eat.'

- b. *Jirrki-ji-ngirrika-nga-ardi, ngamba jirrki-ji-ngirrika-nga-ardi murdika-arndi,*
 run-hunt-1sg-HAB PURP run-hunt-1sg-HAB car-INST

ngaja-nga-ardi kujkarrarni.

see-1sg-HAB two(f)

'Hunting, when I go hunting in my car I always see two of them.'

Another example can be found in (3.8f) above. The behaviour of these compounds with respect to vowel harmony is not entirely clear. In (3.10a) the first element of the root does not undergo harmony, despite the fact that the second element does. In (3.10b), the first element unexpectedly appears in harmonised form, as the second element has not undergone harmony and the usual trigger for harmony is entirely absent. Unfortunately, there are very few examples available of compound roots, and I was not able to elicit more or to check these (they were rephrased using separate fully inflected forms), but the structure in (3.10a) is more common. It is possible that (3.10b) is an error.

There is a further rare kind of compound root which involves prefixing a regular coverbal root with an element that bears no meaning on its own and is not found in combination with other roots. The root /narnangaj-/ 'mind, look after' in (3.11) is

composed of the root /ngaj-/ ('see') plus the element [narna] which is not found anywhere else.

- (3.11) a. *Ngangarra narnangaja-nga-ju.*
 wild.rice mind-1sg-do
 'I'm looking after the wild rice.'
- b. *Ngangarra nirningiji-mindi-ju.*
 wild.rice mind-1dl.Inc-do
 'You and I are looking after the wild rice.'

Note that, as (3.11b) shows, that vowel harmony affects the entire compound root in these constructions. This should therefore be treated synchronically as a lexicalised root.

3.1.3 Adverbial

Adverbs are words which are independent of both N and V heads (gender endings and core verbs) which contain information regarding manner, place, time, or resultant state. A syntactic analysis of adverbs, including their ordering within clauses relative to other elements, is given in §4.1.3.

Adverbs never bear any suffixes, except for discourse markers such as the morphological focus marker or emphatic (§5.3.3.3). Most of the consonant-final words of Jingulu are adverbs.

- (3.12) a. *Kardarrukuji biba-marri.*
 all.night storm-DIST⁴
 'There was a storm all night.'
- b. *Kawul wawurru-mbili ngurru-wa.*
 straight scrub-LOC 1pl.Inc-will.go
 'Let's go straight into the bush.'
- c. *Bambamburru ngininiki-rni, ngurru-wa lurrbu.*
 holey.country this(n)-FOC 1pl.Inc-will.go return
 'This is holey country, let's go back.'

⁴ Note the appearance of /-marri/ (glossed 'DIST') on *biba* ('storm') in this example. Verbal heads, which typically encode tense, aspect, mood, and associated motion, sometimes appear on nominals with deictic function. This is discussed in §6.2.4.

- d. *Wawa **jungkali** ngindaniki ya-ju.*
 child afar this(m) 3sg-do
 'The boy is far away.'
- e. ***Durd** maya-nga-yi lurrurnmi.*
 kick-1sg-FUT testicles
 'I'll kick him in the balls.'
- f. ***Yurru** bardka-nga-yi jama-rna ya-jiyimi bardka-nga-yi arduku.*
 hide.down-1sg-FUT that(m)-DAT 3sg-come drop-1sg-FUT careful
 'I'm going to duck down and hide from that one coming.'
- g. ***Jirrbu** wardka-ngarri-yi kalyirri **yurru** duwa-rdu.*
 dive-1sg-will.go swim swim.along-go
 'I'm going to dive into the water swim along.'
- h. *Ngarri-na kunyarrba **dang** maya-nga-nu.*
 1sg.GEN-m dog kill-1sg-did
 'I killed my dog.'

In addition to free adverbs (the boldfaced words in (3.12a–d)), there are some adverbial elements which only ever occur immediately preceding coverbal roots. I call these preverbs and, as illustrated in (3.12e–h), they can occur before a variety of coverbs. In these cases a single gloss is given to the combination of preverb and coverbal root. Some coverbal roots, such as /bil-/ ('cause to have property indicated by preverb'), illustrated in (3.13), are extremely rarely, if ever, found without a preverb in front of them.

- (3.13) a. *Ngirri-rni darranku **dij** bila-nga-nu.*
 DEM(n)-FOC branch snap-1sg-did
 'I snapped this branch.'
- b. *Nyinda-rni kurrubardu **barany** bila-nga-yi.*
 DEM(m)-FOC boomerang smooth-1sg-FUT
 'I'll make this boomerang smooth.'
- c. *Karnarinymi **jird** bila-nga-ju.*
 spear stand-1sg-do
 'I'm standing the spear up.'

Preverbs and adverbs used preverbally remain separate phonological words, as can be seen from their behaviour with respect to vowel harmony:

- (3.14) a. *Ngangarra lurdba ngaja-nga-ju.*
 wild.rice close see-1sg-do
 'I'm inspecting the wild rice.'
- b. *Ngangarra lurdba ngiji-mindi-ju.*
 wild.rice close see-1dl.Inc-do
 'You and me are inspecting the wild rice.'
- c. *Jija jarrkaja-ardi.*
 adulterous run-HAB
 'He is adulterous.' [lit. 'He habitually commits adultery.']
- d. *Jija jirrki-ji-wunyu-nu.*
 adulterous run-3dl-did
 'They committed adultery.'

As seen in (3.14b, d), the adverbial preverbal element of the verb complex does not undergo harmony. This contrasts with the behaviour of the compound root shown in (3.11).

In addition to preverbs, there are adverbs which are almost always found preceding an agreement+light verb complex which lacks a coverbal root. These can be broadly classified as adverbs of posture, manner, or temporary qualities such as 'pregnant' or 'hurt'. These adverbs are boldfaced in the following examples:

- (3.15) a. *Jama-baja-rni dardu manyan wurru-ju.*
 that-pl-FOC many lying 3pl-do
 'They're all lying down.'
- b. *Jama-baja-rni wawa **barl** wurru-ju.*
 that-pl-FOC boy lie.belly.down 3pl-do
 'The children are lying belly down.'
- c. *Lurdba ya-jiyimi.*
 close 3sg-come
 'It's approaching.'
- d. *Ya-jiyimi lurdba.*
 3sg-come close
 'It's approaching.'
- e. *Jurrku-mbili bulubulubi ya-ju.*
 middle-LOC floating 3sg-do
 'It's floating along out in the middle.'

While the combination of these adverbs with the light verb complex renders a verbal translation into English, just like coverbal roots, they can be distinguished from coverbal roots on several grounds. First of all, as shown in (3.15d), it is possible for these elements to be separated from the core verb, though they typically are not. Secondly, they do not have linking vowels or undergo vowel harmony, unlike coverbal roots but like the adverbs in (3.14). Furthermore, third person singular agreement is always overt with these elements (/ya-/), and not null as with true (bound, harmonising) coverbal roots, as seen most clearly in (3.15c) and (3.15e).

Most of these adverbial elements can also be used independently as adverbs. Compare (3.16a) to (3.16b).

- (3.16) a. *Lilingbi nga-ju.*
hurt 1sg-do
'I'm in pain.'
- b. *Jama-bili nana-rnu, miyi-wunya-na-rnu lilingbi.*
that-dl.anim 3S.1sgO-did hit-3dl-1O-did hurt
'Those two did it to me, they hit me, hurting me.'

3.1.4 Interjections and personal names

At first it might seem odd to classify personal names with interjections. After all, personal names identify unique referents just like placenames, which are classified as regular nominals. However, this notional resemblance is the only similarity between personal names and regular nominals. Personal names have the phonotactic, morphological and distributional properties of interjections, and therefore are grammatically classified in the same category as interjections.

Personal names are generally avoided in speech, and it is considered rude to use someone's personal name within their hearing. Speakers are in fact loathe to use personal names at all, even when the person to whom the name refers is well out of earshot. People are typically addressed and referred to using subsection names, kinship terms, nicknames, or affectionate epithets such as '(that) old man'. Because it is culturally inappropriate to cite personal names in a work such as this, this section merely describes their properties without providing examples.

Interjections in Jingulu include words for 'yes' (3.17a), conventional attention getters (3.17b), some with imperative-like function (3.17c), and exclamations of pain or alarm (3.17d).

- (3.17) a. *Yu!* *Yuwayi!* *Yo: !*
 ‘Yes!’ ‘Yes!’ ‘Yes!’
- b. *Ngarla!* *Mma!* [Kuwarengu]
 ‘Hey!’ ‘Look here!’

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| c. <i>Dakarni!</i>
'Drop it!' | <i>Karrila!</i>
'Leave it!' | <i>Dakaangku!</i>
'Let him/her come!' |
| d. <i>Kuyu!</i>
'Hey!/Look out!' | | |

Interjections do not inflect at all. They cannot occur in a clause, and are always separated from clausal material by a pause. Some interjections have the same meaning as regular lexical items, for instance the interjection *dakarni* (3.17c) meaning 'leave it!' or 'drop it!', which could be expressed by a verb using the coverbal root /bungk-/ 'drop' (3.18a–b). However, these interjections can never be used in a clause. In order to say 'I told him to drop it', for instance, one could use any of the options (3.18a–c).

- (3.18) a. *Ambaya-nga-nu* (ngarnu) *bungka-yi*.
say-1sg-did 3sg.m.ACC drop-FUT
- b. *Ambaya-nga-nu* *bungka-yi* *ngarnu*.
say-1sg-did drop-FUT 3sg.ACC.m
- c. *Ambaya-nga-nu* (ngarnu) 'dakarni!'
say-1sg-did 3sg.ACC.m drop.it!
- d. **Ambaya-nga-nu* 'dakarni' *ngarnu*.
say-1sg-did drop.it! 3sg.ACC.m

If the option in (3.18c) is used, the interjection is always understood as quoted speech, and still needs to be separated from the rest of the sentence by a recognisable intonation contour associated with quoted speech (typified, among other things, by higher pitch). Note that it is impossible for the interjection to occur in the middle of the clause (3.18d).

Personal names similarly do not inflect and cannot appear as integrated elements of clauses. On the rare occasions that speakers used personal names in my presence, they were always separated from clausal material by the same sort of pause that separates an interjection from a clause. Unlike nominals, personal names do not show any tendency to regular endings depending on gender, with some women's names ending in the typically masculine /a/ and even some men's names ending in the typically feminine /rni/, unattested among the regular nominals of Jingulu.

Interjections do not necessarily follow the phonotactic restrictions which apply to other words. One of the words for 'yes' is pronounced [yo:] (3.17a), with a back mid vowel, which is usually only found as an allophone of other vowels, and never in this context. Another of the words for 'yes', also demonstrated in (3.17a), is pronounced [yu], with a short vowel, in contravention of the usual requirement that Jingulu words not consist of a single open syllable with a short vowel (see §2.2). The emphatic which attracts attention, particularly when the speaker is physically handing something to the addressee, is [m:a] (3.17b), with a distinctly lengthened initial consonant ([ma],

with a short /m/, is not an appropriate pronunciation), yet consonant length is not usually contrastive in Jingulu. This form also constitutes less than the usual minimally bimoraic word.

Personal names also exhibit violations of regular Jingulu phonotactics (§2.2), with some names containing clusters that are not found elsewhere in the language, and permitting glides in syllable coda position. Moreover, some personal names exhibit highly unusual stress patterns, such as four-syllable names stressed on the second syllable.

The exceptional behaviour of interjections with respect to other parts of speech is quite typical of interjections cross-linguistically, which often show phonological or morphological aberrance. In English, example, interjections are the only classes of item which can be infixed, as in *fan-bloody-tastic*, and the interjection written 'tut tut' consists of ingressive consonants, segments which are not part of the regular phoneme inventory of English.

For further analysis of the similarity between personal names and interjections in Jingulu, and for a theoretical extension of this analysis, see Pensalfini (in press b).

In addition to the lexical part of speech categories discussed in this section, there is a small set of complementisers, used to introduce certain kinds of subordinate clause. These are discussed in §4.2.2.

3.2. Derivation

Jingulu appears to have several productive derivational morphemes. Pursuing the idea that nominals and verbs consist of category-less roots in combination with grammatically rich formal elements, some of these morphemes can be considered formal category heads and others semantic category-changing morphemes. A formal category head, like a characteristic gender ending or a light verb, merges with a category-less root to form a stem with a formal category. A semantic category-changing morpheme, on the other hand, merges with a category-less root to form another category-less root, but alters the meaning of the original root so that the derived root is able to combine with formal heads of a different category than the original underived root could have. Both kinds of morpheme are examined in the following subsections.

3.2.1 Nominalisation

There are three nominalising suffixes in Jingulu, two of which are clearly etymologically related to one another but have quite different functions. The first of these, /-ajka/, is considered a nominal head which creates, from a root meaning 'X', a noun which means 'that which is X-ed'. The nominalisation thus derived represents the patient or undergoer of the action X. This nominalising element is glossed as NOML(P) (for patient nominaliser):

- (3.19) a. *Jarumi-warnda-rni ngaba-ju nyambala dabil-ajka-rni, birdu.*
 shield-INST-FOC have-do DEM(n) hold-NOML(P)-FOC handle
 'Shields have a bit that you hold, that's the 'holder', the handle.'
- b. *Bulungkurri-mbili duwa-ardi, buliki-rna ngarnu darr-ajka.*
 bluebush-LOC rise-HAB cow-FOC 3sg.ACC.m eat-NOML(P)
 'Where the bluebush grows is grazing country for cattle.'

Thus in (3.19a) addition of the morpheme to the root meaning 'the action of holding' derives the noun meaning 'that which is held', while in (3.19b) the root meaning 'the action of eating' becomes the noun 'that which is eaten'. These nominalisations are always neuter in gender (as observed in Chadwick 1975). It is to be expected that all nominals derived this way would be of the same gender, as gender is a property of the N head which attached to the category-less root.

The second kind of nominaliser, /-ajkal-/ is not a nominal head, but a syntactic category-less head attaching to roots to derive augmented roots with agentive or adjectival meaning (this morpheme is glossed as NOML(A)). These new roots require affixation of one of the usual formal N (gender) heads in order to function as words, and, unlike nominals derived by /-ajka/, are able to take on any of the four genders by combining with the appropriate N head. This nominaliser enables a coverbal root to affix to a nominal head by modifying the encyclopedic meaning in fairly (though not always entirely) predictable ways.

- (320) a. *Jama-rna ngibi-wurri-jiyimi bininja ngibi-wurri-jiyimi jama-rna*
 that(m)-DAT have-3pl-come man have-3pl-come that(m)-DAT
ngirrm-ajkal-a murdika-rna.
 fix-NOML(A)-m car-DAT
 'They're bringing that mechanic.'
- b. *Ngany-ajkal-irni nyamirna-rni nayu-wurli-rni.*
 sing-NOML(A)-f that(f)-ERG woman-pl-ERG
 'Those women are singers.'
- c. *Ngurndungurndulbi marliya-ju ngany-ajkal-a.*
 throat sick-do sing-NOML(A)-m
 'The singer has a sore throat.'
- d. *Baja-nga-ardi ngarnu bardakurru marrinju-nu kabij-ajkal-u-nu.*
 tell-1sg-HAB 3sg.ACC.m good(n) story-did laugh-NOML(A)-n-did
 'I tell those funny stories.'
- e. *Durrb kuj-ajkal-imi nyambala burrurrumi!*
 prick-NOML(A)-v DEM(n) grass.sp
 'That burrurrumi grass can prick you!'

- f. *Ngini-rni* *murdika* *angkurla jarrkaja-ju* *kiwirra*,
 DEM(n)-FOC car NEG run-do none

angkurla jarrkaj-ajkal-u.

NEG run-NOML(A)-n

'That car doesn't run at all, it's not a goer.'

In (3.20a–c) the derived nominal is agentive, representing someone or something who/which performs the action denoted by the root. The same derived root with different N heads (for different genders) appears in (3.20b) and (3.20c). The derived nominals in (3.20d) has the meaning 'that which causes laughter' rather than 'that which laughs', and is the word for 'funny'. In (3.20e) the derived nominal is instrumental rather than agentive, and in (3.20f) it is in a sense agentive ('runner'), except that the car is not animate.

Note from (3.20b) and (3.20e) that nominals derived by NOML(A) are not subject to vowel harmony.

The final nominalising suffix to be considered is /-jbunji/, which is very rare. The meaning associated with these nominalisations is 'having the property associated with' the root. The gloss ADJ is used for this morpheme, examples of which are shown in (3.21).

- (3.21) a. *Manyan duka-nga-rriyi, kardarrkuja-jbunji* *ngaya.*
 go.to.sleep-1sg-will.go all.night-ADJ 1sg.NOM
 'I should go to sleep, I've been up all night.'
- b. *Kula-jbunji jami-rna* *abulda* *kurlukurla-ka.*
 speared-ADJ that(m)-FOC accidentally small(m)-PST.HAB
 'That little chap there was accidentally speared.'
- c. *Ngirri-marriyimi nyambala-ngka, karrijbi kuyu* *ngirra-ka,*
 1pl.Exc-DIST DEM-ALL road ANAPH(n) 1pl.Exc-PST.HAB
- ngiji-ngirri-yi* *nginda-rna* *larlarla-jbunji* *ibilka.*
 see-1pl.Exc-FUT DEM(m)-FOC flood-ADJ water
 'We went that way along the road where we used to go until we saw the floodwater.'

As the examples in (3.21a–b) show, /-jbunji/ constructions are sometimes used as verbless clauses, but are difficult to translate into English without using verbal clauses. I could not determine whether nominals derived by /-jbunji/ show any gender concord, as in all instances in my corpus, they modify masculine referents. The productivity of this suffix is questionable, with so few examples of it occurring. The words *kulajbunji* (3.21b) and *larlarlajbunji* (3.21c) appear to be lexicalised, though *kardarrkujajbunji* (3.21a) appears to be an innovation by the speaker.

3.2.2 Adverbialisation

Jingulu has two suffixes which derive adverbials or adverbial phrases from other words. They do not always derive adverbial words, but often convey a particular kind of emphasis which is translated into English by the use of adverbs. Thus they are 'adverbialisers' in the sense that they modify the word in terms of manner, which is a role that adverbs play with respect to predicates.

3.2.2.1 /-kaji/

The first of these. /-kaji/, is usually translated with the meaning 'right ...', 'completely ...' or 'really ...', and emphasises that a state or activity is instantiated to the greatest extent or with fullest intent possible. This suffix might rightly be considered an emphatic, except that it actually affects the syntactic behaviour of elements, particularly coverbal roots, when it attaches to them, as in (3.22). The suffix /-kaji/ is glossed as 'through' because it is often translated into Kriol as *rait tru* ('right through') by Jingulu speakers.

- (3.22) a. *Mamambiyaku diyinu maja-mi ila-kaji mandarra-ngka.*
 soft bloodwood.gum get-IRR put-through sore-ALL
 'The soft bloodwood gum is gotten to put directly onto sores.'
- b. *Nyamini-rna ngaliminimini ngina-niki diyim-kaji ya-ju ngini-rni*
 DEM(f)-FOC bat this(f) fly-through 3sg-do DEM(n)-FOC
jangki.
 high.up
 'The bat is flying all around above us.'
- c. *Nyinuwa jarrkaja-nga-rruku durdurdubi-kaji nga-nu jingirdi-rni.*
 this.way run-1sg-went beat-through 1sg-did heart-FOC
 'I went for a run and now my heart is thumping.'
- d. *Kurrubardu ngirrma-nga-yi mujiya-kaji nga-ka.*
 boomerang make-1sg-FUT forget-through 1sg-PST.HAB
 'I want to make a boomerang but I've completely forgotten how.'

A root bearing /-kaji/ behaves as an independent adverbial element, not requiring a light verb to provide it with categorial features (3.22a). Such a root demands overt marking of third person singular subjects (3.22b), just like an adverb (see §3.1.3, particularly (3.15)), rather than null marking of third person singular subjects as coverbal roots do. The sentences in (3.22c–d) display the intensifying properties of /-kaji/.

Other parts of speech can also appear with /-kaji/, including adverbs (3.23), nominals (3.24) and demonstratives (3.25).

- (323) a. *Manki-ya-nu dibij-kaji ya-rruku.*
 sit-3sg-did outside-through 3sg-went
 'She sat here and he went right outside.'
- (324) a. *Nyamina-rni-nu bardakurri-rni-kaji ya-ju.*
 DEM(f)-FOC-did good-f-through 3sg-do
 'She's really well now.'
- b. *Jama-rni-rni yaba, yaba-kaji jama-rni-ma.*
 that-ERG-FOC youth youth-through that-ERG-EMPH
 'That's a youth, a proper young man.'
- c. *Ambaya-nga-ju Jingulu-kaji.*
 speak-1sg-do Jingulu-through
 'I'll talk pure Jingulu right through.'
- (325) a. *Nyamba-mbili-kaji mankiyi-mindi-ju?*
 what-LOC-through sit-1dl.Inc-do
 'Where exactly are we sitting?'
- b. *Ngiji-wunyu-nu ngiji-warna-nu ngirraku ngaya*
 see-3dl-did see-3sgS.1O-did 1pl.Exc.ACC 1sg.NOM
ngunu-mbili-kaji.
 DEM(n)-LOC-through
 'Those two saw me and him right over there.'
- c. *Ngunu buba miji-yirri! Nyambana-kaji?*
 DEM(n) fire take-go.IMPV why-through
 'Get some firewood! Why, precisely?'
- d. *Nyamba-arndi-kaji nya-rriyi-rni?*
 what-INST-through 2sg-will.go-FOC
 'How exactly will you go?'

On adverbs and nominals (including demonstratives), as in (3.23)–(3.25), /-kaji/ cannot be seen as deriving adverbials, although its sense is translated into English by use of adverbial modifiers like 'exactly', 'right', 'indeed', 'really' and a variety of /-ly/ adverbs.

3.2.2.2 /-nama/

The second 'adverbialising' suffix, /-nama/, translates into a variety of English terms such as 'still' (3.26a), 'already' (3.26b-c), 'this time' (3.26d), 'in the time of ...' (3.26e-g), and even sometimes 'during' or 'while' (3.26h). Sometimes this element has a more aspectual function, simply drawing attention to the fact that the event or state depicted by its host unfolds or occurs over time (3.26i-m), in a way which is not readily translatable by any of the above English terms. This morpheme is glossed 'time', as that is the element of meaning common to all of these uses.

- (326) a. *Jama-rni-rni jawularri-nama.*
 that-ERG-FOC young.man-time
 'He's still a young uninitiated man.'
- b. *Jaburra-nama nga-rruku.*
 before-time 1sg-went
 'I already went.'
- c. *Kuyu-ngka-nama ya-rruku lurrbu.*
 ANAPH(n)-ALL-time 3sg-went return
 'He went back to where he'd already been.'
- d. *Darrangku irrbilajbunku wamba-nama ngini-rni*
 tree painting snappy.gum-time DEM(n)-FOC

 kungka irrbilajbunku.
 another(n) painting
 'There's another painting, this time of a snappy gum.'
- e. *Jaburra-nama wurru-ku kibirdki, ngirriki-kaji wurru-ku.*
 first-time 3pl-went swim hunting-through 3pl-went
 'First off they went swimming, then off hunting.'
- f. *Jibijba-nga-yi arduku-nama kandirri ngirrma-nga-yi*
 mix.in-1sg-FUT slow-time damper make-1sg-FUT

 duja-kaji-nga-yi.
 roll-through-1sg-FUT
 'Finally I mix this slowly into the damper dough and roll it.'

- g. *Ngurraru-nama* *ngurru-wa* *lurru* *ngurrarungka* *nyambala* *uluwijini*
 morning-time 1pl.Inc-will.go return tomorrow DEM(n) sun
jangki-nama *darra-ngka-ju* *mind-yi* *bundurru*.
 high-time eat-ALL(DS)-do 1dl.Inc-will.go food
 'We'll go hunting early, then when we return at noon you and I will have a feed.'
- h. *Ayinji* *mankiya-mi* *maja-nga-rri*, *ayinji* *jaja-mi* *nga-rriyi*
 little.while sit-IRR get-1sg-will.go little.while wait-IRR 1sg-will.go
ngini-mbili-nama.
 DEM(n)-LOC-time
 'Wait here a little while I go and get it.'
- i. *Ajajika-nama* *mindu-wa*?
 how.far-time 1dl.Inc-will.go
 'How long are we going for?'
- j. *Dardungkija-nama* *nga-ardi-rni*!
 many.times-time 1sg-HAB-FOC
 'I do it every single day!'
- k. *Dardungkija-nama* *jukula-nga-rriyi* *karrija-karrija* *duwa-nga-yi*.
 many.times-time stay-1sg-will.go road-RED rise-1sg-FUT
 'That's many days journey on.'
- l. *Julurkbii-wunyu-ju* *kujkarriarni-nama*.
 be.pregnant-3dl-do DEM.dl-time
 'Those two women are now pregnant.'
- m. *Ngirruwu-ku* *buliki* *jama-rna* *bard biji-ngiirri-wardi* *dardungkija-nama*.
 1pl.Exc-went cow that-FOC miss-1pl.Exc-HAB many.times-time
 'We missed the cow [shooting at it] over and over.'

4 Syntax

This chapter considers how the various parts of speech discussed in Chapter 3 are put together to form sentences. After an initial discussion of the general properties of simple (monoclausal) sentences (§4.1.1), we turn to the nature and structure of specific types of simple sentences and constructions: verbless sentences (§4.1.2), adverbial expressions (§4.1.3), questions (§4.1.4), negation (§4.1.5), clauses with multiple objects (§4.1.6), and the expression of modality (§4.1.7). Following on from this is a treatment of multiclausal sentences, including an examination of both clause coordination (§4.2.1) and subordination (§4.2.2). The chapter concludes with a brief examination of clauses occurring as arguments (subjects and objects) predicates in higher clauses (§4.2.3).

4.1 Simple sentences

There are very few word-order restrictions in Jingulu, and few restrictions on what words may and may not be present in a sentence. Adverbs and question words show some strong ordering preferences (see §4.1.3 and §4.1.4), and there is generally only one light verb allowed per clause. Beyond this, practically any string of well-formed words (see Chapters 3, 5 and 6 for what constitutes a well-formed word) can form a clause (see the sentences in (4.1) and (4.8) for examples). This makes Jingulu a highly nonconfigurational language in the sense of Hale (1980).

4.1.1 Properties of simple sentences

Jingulu displays free constituent order. The sentences in (4.1) were generated by me but accepted as perfectly good Jingulu equivalents for one another by native speakers, while the sentences in (4.2) were produced by Jingulu speakers.

- (4.1) a. *Uliyija-nga ngunja-ju karalu.* [SVO]
 sun-ERG.f burn-do ground
 'The sun is burning the ground.'
 b. *Uliyijanga karalu ngunjaju.* [SOV]
 c. *Ngunjaju uliyijanga karalu.* [VSO]

- d. *Ngunjaju karalu uliyijanga.* [VOS]
 e. *Karalu uliyinanga ngunjaju.* [OSV]
 f. *Karalu ngunjaju uliyijanga.* [OVS]
- (42) a. *Ngayirni binjama-nga-ju babirdimi.* [SVO]
 1sg.ERG grow-1sg-do yam
 'I grow potatoes.'
- b. *Jama-baja-rni yarrulan-darra murrkun-bala* [SOV]
 that(m)-pl-ERG young.man-pl three-pl.anim
 nayu-nga durli-wurru-ju.
 woman-DAT.f seek-3pl-do
 'Those three young men are looking for women.'
- c. *Nganya-marriyimi marlarluka-rni kujika-rni.* [VSO]
 sing-DIST old.man(pl)-ERG song-FOC
 'The old men used to go singing initiation songs.'
- d. *Darra-ju kardakarda warlaku-rni.* [VOS]
 eat-do bone dog-ERG
 'The dog's chewing a bone.'
- e. *Kurrubardu marlarluka-rni nangka-marri.* [OSV]
 boomerang old.men-ERG chop-DIST
 'The old folk would make boomerangs.'
- f. *Kijurlurlu wiki-wurru-ju wawa-la-rni.* [OVS]
 stone gather-3pl-do child-pl-ERG
 'The children are picking up stones.'

Several authors (for example Blake 1983 and Mithun 1987) have suggested that, in languages with this degree of freedom in ordering of constituents, discourse prominence determines the ordering of constituents. However, the presence and distribution of morphological marking of discourse prominence in Jingulu (see §5.3.3.3.1) suggests that it is not discourse prominence that is at the heart of this freedom of ordering. In the formal syntactic literature, the debate over free word order and 'nonconfigurationality' rages on. Interested readers with a background in formal theoretical linguistics are directed to Hale (1980 and 1989), Jelinek (1984), Baker (1996a and 1996b), Austin and Bresnan (1996), Nordlinger (1998b) and, for a discussion of nonconfigurationality in Jingulu, Pensalfini (1997 and in press a).

The presence of subject and object agreement markers following the verbal root is obligatory (note that agreement with third person singular subjects and all third person objects is null). Free word order is also found with nominal predications (which are discussed in §4.1.2). The sentences in (4.3) come from texts. The predicate appears in square brackets:

- (4.3) a. *Jimi-rni [ngawu ngardajkalu].* [S–predicate]
 this(n)-ERG home big(n)
 ‘This is a big lair.’
- b. *[Dalydaly] ngindaniki-rni waniyi-rni.* [predicate–S]
 cricket this(m)-ERG/FOC grasshopper-ERG
 ‘This kind of grasshopper is a *dalydaly* (cricket).’

Jingulu permits ‘dropping’ of any or all arguments, in the sense that subject and objects need not be expressed overtly:

- (4.4) a. *Jama-rni warlaku-rni dajba-nana-nu.*
 that(m)-FOC dog-ERG bite-3sgS.1O-did
 ‘That dog bit me.’
- b. *Banybila-nga-nu ibilka karrinbiyi.*
 find-1sg-did water tree.water
 ‘I found tree-water.’
- c. *Kird baja-nga-nu.*
 break-1sg-(3O-)did
 ‘I broke it.’
- d. *Umbuma-ngana-nu.*
 sting-3S.1O-did
 ‘It stung me.’

In (4.4a) there is no overt nominal corresponding to the object, while in (4.4b) it is the subject that is not represented overtly. Both subject and object are left unexpressed (by overt nominals) in (4.4c–d).

Nordlinger (1998a, b) notes that in Wambaya, there are certain environments in which the object cannot be dropped. Dative-marked objects of semi-transitive verbs such as ‘wait for’ and ‘seek’ cannot be omitted in Wambaya. In Jingulu, equivalent verbs are found with objects that are Dative only if they are non-pronominal and Accusative if pronominal. As with other Accusative objects, null anaphora is permitted with these verbs in Jingulu (compare (4.5a) to (4.5b) and (4.5c)), unlike in Wambaya.

- (45) a. *Jaja-mi ngarru!*
 wait-IRR 1sg.ACC
 'Wait for me!'
- b. *Wami, nga-rriyi, ngini-mbili jaja-mi!*
 stop.IMPV 1sg-will.go this(n)-LOC wait-IRR
 'Stop, I'll go, wait for me here!'
- c. *Ngini-mbili jaja-mi!*
 here wait-IRR
 'Wait here (for me)!'

Nordlinger also notes that non-singular object NPs may not be dropped in Wambaya. Like Jingulu, Wambaya agreement does not distinguish number for objects, and unless an overt NP object is present and in a non-singular form, the object is always interpreted as singular. However, in Jingulu an object may be singular, dual, or plural when there is no overt NP object, despite the lack of distinction in the agreement forms. The translations of the Jingulu sentences in (4.6) were the only ones available given the context of the utterances.

- (4.6) a. *Jimi-rna ngunya-ana-ngku ngayarni.*
 that(n)-FOC give-1O-will.come 1sg.ERG
 'I'll come to share this amongst us all.' [lit. 'give this to us']
- b. *Jam-bila-rni-rlu wirlingki-wunya-rna-nu*
 that-dl.ANIM-ERG-FOC scold-3dl-1O-did
- jama-bili-rni-rlu marluka-yarla yukulyarri-rni-ngkami.*
 that-dl.anim-ERG-FOC old.man-dl goat-FOC-ABL
 'Those two old people told us off for chasing goats.'

Both with objects of semi-transitives and non-singular objects, it is common for an overt NP object to appear in Jingulu, and the sentences in (4.6) represent a small minority of the clauses collected in which non-singular objects are implicated, but their existence suggests that overt non-singular objects are not obligatory. The difference between Wambaya and Jingulu may relate to the presence of an Inverse construction in Jingulu, absent in Wambaya, which allows the number of a first or second person object to be expressed by agreement (as in (4.7)).

- (4.7) a. *Dajba-ni-ngirru-nu (murrkunbala) karruji-rni.*
 bite-INV-1pl.Exc-did three.people spider-ERG
 'The spider bit the three of us (not you).'

- b. *Dunja-ni-ngurru-nu.*
 kiss-INV-1pl.Inc-did
 'They kissed us (you included).'

The inverse marker is followed by the morpheme normally used for subject agreement, which in this case represents the object. For more on the inverse construction, see §6.1.3.3. The existence of this construction means that in Jingulu, unlike in Wambaya, it is possible for the number features of the object to be expressed in the verb if so desired or required.

Jingulu freely permits apparent discontinuous NPs (multiple non-adjacent co-referent nominals, appearing in boldface in the sentences in (4.8)):

- (4.8) a. *Ngamurlu ngayi-rni jurrkulu-rna ambaya-nga-yi.*
 big(n) 1sg.NOM-FOC creek-DAT speak-1sg-FUT
 'I'm telling you about the big creeks.'
- b. *Ngunu maja-mi ngarru darrangku.*
 DEM(n) get-IRR 1sg.ACC stick
 'Get me that stick.'
- c. *Murrkulyi miyi-ngirru-nu karruji.*
 three kill-1pl.Exc-did spider
 'We killed three spiders.'
- d. *Dardu-wala-rni maja-ni-ngurru-ju wajbala-rni.*
 many.people-ERG get-INV-1pl.Inc-do whitefella-ERG
 'Lots of white people took photos of us.'
- e. *Jiminiki bikirra nyambala kurdalyurru ka-ju bikirra-rni.*
 this grass DEM(n) green(n) 3sg-do grass-FOC
 'The grass is green.'
- f. *Nyami-nga nayu-nga ngaba-ju kunyaku kujkarrabilarni*
 DEM(f)-ERG woman-ERG have-do 2dlACC two(m)
bayiny-bila.
 man-dl.anim
 'That woman has you two men.'

It is also common to find a pronoun co-referent with an overt nominal (4.8f) or a nominal repeated in a clause (4.8e). This makes it unlikely that these words were generated together within a single NP and then somehow split up. A very common pattern, illustrated in (4.9), is for multiple demonstratives to refer to the same entity. Typically these demonstratives are drawn from different demonstrative paradigms (see §5.1.1 for a discussion of demonstrative forms).

- (4.9) a. *Jama-rni ngininiki-rni bulurukuji.*
 that(m)-ERG this(n)-ERG pea.bush¹
 'This is a pea bush.'
- b. *Jamaniki-rni ibilka-ardi nyambala kurranjiyaji.*
 this (m)-FOC water-HAB DEM(n) shallow
 'This water is shallow.'
- c. *Jimi-rna nyambala warrka-nu balarr juwa-nu.*
 that(n)-FOC DEM(n) fall-did smash-did
 'It fell and smashed.'
- d. *Dakani! Jiminiki-rni larrba nyambala.*
 leave.it.IMPV this(n)-FOC old DEM(n)
 'Leave it! That one's old!'
- e. *Nyinda-rni kurrnyu nyambala ilkinya-nga-rriyi.*
 DEM(m)-FOC skin DEM(n) cut-1sg-will.go
 'I must skin this one.'

While free nominals most commonly bear overt case markers, Jingulu optionally allows nominals in clause-peripheral positions to appear in default case (NOM for pronominals, ABS or unmarked for other nominals), irrespective of the argument they represent (as in (4.10)). This nominal is typically set off from the rest of the clause by an intonation break (represented orthographically by a comma).

- (4.10) a. *Dilkurni nginaniki, kakuwi darra-ardi.*
 kite this(f) fish eat-HAB
 'The white-breasted kite, it eats fish.'
- b. *Lamurrangkurdi darra-ardi, ngindi barnibukarri.*
 stinking.turtle eat-HAB that(m) hawk
 'It eats stinking turtles, the hawk.'
- c. *Jama-bili-rna, birri-wunya-na-miki marluka-yili-rni.*
 that-dl.anim-FOC visit-3dl-1O-came old.man-dl-ERG
 'Those two, the two old people came to see me yesterday.'
- d. *Kunyuwurlu, nyambala-nayi miyi-wurru-nyu-ju kunyaku.*
 2dlNOM DEM(n)-INDEF hit-3pl-2O-do 2dlACC
 'You two, they hit you two as well.'

¹ Masculine demonstratives are permitted with nominals of all genders (see §5.3.1.3).

- e. *Nginyila, nginda-rni wawa miyi-wurru-na-ju nginyaku.*
 1dl.ExcNOM DEM(m)-FOC boy hit-3pl-1O-do 1dl.ExcACC
 'Us, they hit me and the boy.'
- f. *Kurraala, dajba-ni-kurru-nu murrkunbala.*
 2pl.NOM bite-INV-2pl-did three.people
 'You, it's bitten you three.'
- g. *Nginda, duku-nga-rriyi ibijinku-ngka.*
 DEM(m) sit-1sg-will.go shade-ALL
 'There, I'm going to sit in that shade.'
- h. *Lilingbi-nga-ju ngininiki-rni linku-mbili, mangarli.*
 hurt-1sg-do this(n)-FOC chest-LOC chest
 'My chest hurts here, my chest.'
- i. *Kalyurrunga-rni-mbili kibardka-nga-rriyi, kalyurrunga.*
 water-FOC-LOC swim-1sg-will.go water
 'In the water I'll go swimming, the water.'

The boldfaced nominals in (4.10a–c) are expected to appear with ERG suffixes, referring as they do to animate subjects of transitive predicates, but instead appear in the unmarked ABS form. The pronominals in (4.10d–f) all refer to objects of transitive verbs and therefore are expected to appear in the Accusative, but instead appear in the Nominative (note that the objects in (4.10d–e) are also referred to by pronouns in Accusative forms). In (4.10g–i) the unmarked nominals co-refer with elements that are in non-core (semantic) cases. In each of these cases the appearance of the nominal in an 'unexpected' case is dependent on its being clause-peripheral.

The appearance of the dislocated nominals in default case (NOM for pronouns, ABS for other nominals in Jingulu) is exactly as for dislocation structures in English:

- (4.11) a. **Him**, I think he's the one who sang last night, Pavarotti.
 b. Who's there? **Me**!
 c. [You and **them**] can all go together.

A dislocated pronoun in English (4.11a) bears Accusative case. This is the default case in English, as can be seen from single word utterances and coordinate NPs like (4.11b–c) ((4.11c) may not be textbook English, but structures of this type are heard constantly in colloquial speech). In Jingulu, as in most other languages, the default case is Nominative; the case of a single word utterance is always NOM (except for Vocatives, which are discussed in §5.3.3.3).

Dislocated nominals seem to be mutually exclusive with wh-questions (see §4.1.4 for a discussion of wh-questions), which suggests that dislocated nominals occupy the

same structural position occupied by *wh*-words in questions (the Specifier of CP in the terms of many modern theories of syntax).

It was argued in §3.1.2 that the verb word consists of a category-less root followed by a light verb with inflectional prefixes, not as a verb followed by inflectional suffixes. In Chapter 3 we considered several morphological arguments for this analysis. A further significant syntactic argument for this analysis comes from the phenomenon of 'root-drop' (or root ellipsis) in Jingulu. The overt lexical root, the element preceding agreement marking in the verbal word, is the element which expresses the information that we in English would recognise as a verbal head (Chadwick 1975's 'stem'). This root, however, is entirely optional, with the only compulsory elements of a verbal clause being the agreement markers and the final element of the verbal word which encodes tense, aspect, mood, and directionality (Chadwick 1975's 'final').

Compare the clauses which contain roots in (4.12) to those without roots in (4.13) (elicited). The sentences in (4.14) are examples of spontaneously generated root-less clauses.

- (4.12) a. *Jirrkiji-mindu-wa.*
run-1dl.Inc-will.go
'You and I will run (off).'

- b. *Ngaja-nya-ana-ju.*
see-2sg-1O-do
'You can see me.'

- c. *Anikiya-nya-ju?*
do.what-2sg-do
'What are you doing?'

- (4.13) a. *Mindu-wa.*
1dl.Inc-will.go
'You and I will go.'

- b. *Nya-ana-ju.*
2sg-1O-do
'You do (it) to me.'

Root-less clauses are primarily used to express coming and going (4.14a–b), or in tandem with other words to create clauses with predictable meanings (4.14c–e), but they can also be used when the root meaning is understood, in 'root ellipsis' constructions (4.14f–g).

- (4.14) a. *Ya-ardu kardarda ya-jiyimi*
3sg-go always 3sg-come
'He's always coming and going.'

- b. *Ya-angku.*
3sg-will.come
'He will come.'
- c. *Kara-mbili nga-ju.*
fog-LOC 1sg-do
'I'm in the fog.'
- d. *Jangu wurru-ju.*
nothing 3pl-do
'They're doing nothing.'
- e. *Nam wunyu-ju.*
stuck 3dl-do
'They're stuck together.'
- f. *Ajuwara manyan nya-nu?* *Ngindi-mbili nga-nu.*
where sleep 2sg-did DEM-LOC 1sg-did
'Where did you sleep?' 'I did it there.'
- g. *Mindi-mi, nyamirni ngirrma-mi ngayirni ngini-rni,*
1dl.Inc-IRR 2sg.ERG make-IRR 1sg.ERG that(n)-FOC

ngirrma-nya-mi-rni jiminiki-rni bambu.
make-2sg-IRR-FOC this(n)-FOC didgeridoo
'We'll do it, you and I will make it, you'll make it too, this didgeridoo.'

The examples in (4.15) show that the root ellipsis construction is not the same as verb ellipsis in English, whereby a verb is replaced by a dummy inflected verb 'do'.

- (4.15) a. *Kurrubardi-rni kurdkulyu-kaji ngirri-marriyimi.*
boomerang-FOC mucus-through 1pl.Exc-DIST
'We'd do [cut through] the innards with a boomerang.'
- b. *Kuwarrku. Ibilka-rni-mbili wurru-wardi.*
nothing water-FOC-LOC 3pl-HAB
'Not at all. They just do [drink] beer.'

In the sentences in (4.15), the apparently elided root has no linguistic antecedent. The extralinguistic context alone supplies all information leading to the real-world interpretation of the verb. This differs from English verb ellipsis, which must have a linguistic antecedent.

As discussed in §3.1.2, verbs in Jingulu are not strictly either transitive or intransitive, contrary to the situation in most Australian languages (Dixon 1980). The sentences in

(4.16a, c) demonstrate that Accusative objects are possible even with predicates that would translate as intransitive in English as long as there is an interpretation available. Where there is no feasible interpretation, as in (4.16d), the sentence is rejected by speakers as 'making no sense'.

- (4.16) a. *Dardu-nama ya-jiyimi ngarru.*
 many-time 3sg-come 1sg.ACC
 'They all came to me.'
- b. *Ya-jiyimi bininja.*
 3sg-come man
 'The man is coming.'
- c. *Ya-marriyimi, marlarluka-rni wanyma-marriyimi ngarru,*
 3sg-DIST old.men-ERG walk-DIST 3sg.ACC.m

 dunjuwa-kaji ya-marri, warriki-rna.
 burn-through 3sg-DIST spirit-DAT
 'The people would take that one and cremate him, for his spirit.'
- d. **/# Bininja manyan ka-ju ngarru.*
 man sleep 3sg-do 1sg.ACC
 'The man is sleeping (at) me.'

That even root-less clauses display a variety of argument structures (compare (4.16a–b)) suggests that Jingulu verbs are vague with respect to transitivity and case-assigning properties, rather than that roots somehow affect the argument/case properties of verbs. That is to say that each core verb has a variety of possible case/argument frames, including intransitive (NOM), transitive (ERG/ABS (ACC if pronominal)), and di-transitive (ERG/ABS(ACC if pronominal)/DAT(ACC if pronominal)).

4.1.2 Verbless clauses

Nominal elements may function as clausal predicates in a verbless clause. Such a clause typically consists of two nominal expressions and no (overt) verbal element. Such a clause asserts that the referent of one nominal (the subject) is a member of the set of individuals that share a particular property (the predicate). The order is usually subject–predicate, though predicate–subject is found (see (4.3)). Multiple nominals referring to the subject are also possible, but extremely rare, with one of the nominals being an afterthought separated from the rest of the clause by an audible intonation break.

4.1.2.1 *Adjectives and nouns as predicates*

As discussed in §3.1.1, nouns and adjectives behave differently when used as predicates, with nouns taking Ergative subjects and Adjectives taking Absolutive (unmarked) subjects. The sentences in (4.17) are repeated from (3.1) in §3.1.1.

- (4.17) a. *Winiyiki-rni nayurni ngarri-rnini.*
 foreign-f woman 1sg.GEN-f
 ‘My wife is a foreigner.’
- b. *Miringmi bardakurru-mi.*
 gum good-v
 ‘Gum is good.’
- c. *Jama-rni-rni jawularri-nama.*
 that-ERG-FOC young.man-time
 ‘He’s still a young man.’
- d. *Babi-ila ngarri-ni-bila jama-bila-rni-rni.*
 older.brother-dl 1sg.GEN-m-dl.anim DEM-dl.anim-ERG-FOC
 ‘Those two are my brothers.’

This distinction is often hard to perceive, because of the extensive use of the discourse marker /-rni/ (glossed ‘FOC’) homophonous with the Ergative, on subjects of adjectival predications (this homophony is discussed at length in §5.3.3.3.1. However, the ability of /-rni/ to appear twice on subjects of noun predicates (once as Ergative marking, once as focus) but only once on subjects of adjectival predicates (as focus marking), shows that there is a difference between noun and adjective predicates. This difference is further obscured by the fact that subjects of either kind of nominal predicate can be dislocated and show up in the Absolutive (unmarked) form as a result.

The sentences in (4.18) show typical responses to specific elicitations of adjectival predication, while (4.19) shows adjectival predications from sentences and elicitations of other material.

- (4.18) a. *Miringmi bardakurrumi.*
 gum good(v)
 ‘Gum is good.’
- b. *Miringmi-rni bardakurrumi.*
 gum-FOC good(v)
 ‘Gum is good.’
- c. *Nyima babirdimi kiyalyiyanu.*
 that(v) yam stinky(n)
 ‘That yam is rotten.’

- d. *Kijurlurlu ngardajkalu.*
 rock big(n)
 'The rock is big.'

Note that the subject of the agreeing adjective is unmarked. In (4.18b) the subject bears a focus marker, and is contrasted in form and meaning with (4.18a).

- (4.19) a. *Nyini-niki ingalka bardakurru.*
 DEM(n)-PROX juice good(n)
 'This juice is sweet.'
- b. *Ngarri-rnini nayurni wirniyiki-rni.*
 1sg.GEN-f woman foreign-f
 'My wife is foreign.'
- c. *Jimi-rni junkurlu-nu arranganbala.*
 this-FOC river-did² wide(n)
 'This river is wide.'
- d. *Nyama-rni munmulyi.*
 2sg.NOM-FOC ignorant
 'You're ignorant.'

In (4.19c–d) the subject bears a focus marker, whereas in (4.19a–b) it does not. If the appearance of /-rni/ in (4.19c–d) were ERG marking and (4.19a–b) the result of dislocation, we would expect to find as many cases of right-dislocation as of left-dislocation. In fact, the occurrence of subjects to the right of adjectival predicates is highly unusual.

By contrast, subjects of nouns must have Ergative marking, unless they are dislocated, in which case they must appear at one of the clause edges. Unlike subjects of adjectival predicates, the Ergative argument appears to be quite freely ordered with respect to its noun predicate, as shown in (4.20).

- (4.20) a. *Babi-yila ngarri-ni-bila jama-bili-rni-rni.*
 older.brother-dl 1sg.GEN-m-dl.anim DEM(m)-dl.anim-ERG-FOC
 'Those two are my brothers.'
- b. *Jama-rni-rni jawularri-nama.*
 DEM(m)-ERG-FOC young.man-time
 'He's still a young uninitiated man.'

² Note the appearance of /-nu/ (glossed 'did') on *junkurlu* ('river') in this example. Morphemes typically used to mark tense (along with aspect, mood, and associated motion), and analysed in this grammar as verbal heads (see Chapter 3), sometimes appear on nominals with deictic function. This is discussed in §6.2.4.

- c. *Jimi-rni ngawu Murlububumi.*
 DEM(n)-ERG home 2.snakes (dreamtime creatures)
 'That's where the Murlububumi live.'
- d. *Nyamina-rni wamalakardirni.*
 DEM(f)-ERG virgin
 'She's a virgin.'
- e. *Urdila ngarri-rnini nyami-rni-rni.*
 axe 1sg.GEN-f DEM-f-ERG
 'That's my axe.'
- f. *Jamaniki-rni Warumunga wawa-rni.*
 this(m)-ERG Warumungu.person child-ERG
 'This boy is a Warumungu person.'

The sentences in (4.20a–b) show that there is Ergative marking, given the appearance of /-rni/ twice. Note that in (4.20a) the subject appears to the right of the noun and in (4.20b) it appears to the left. The predicate can consist of more than one word, as in (4.20a) (*babiyila ngarrinibila*), (4.20c) (*ngawu Murlububumi*), and (4.20e) (*urdila ngarrirni*). Furthermore, the words of the subject need not be adjacent, as (4.20f) shows.

As discussed in §3.2.1, nominalising suffixes form nouns from coverbal roots. Nominalisations formed with /-ajkal-/ may take objects if the related coverbal root can be interpreted as transitive, but in this case the object appears in Dative, rather than Absolutive, case (4.21a–c). Sometimes even underived nouns are found with objects, as in (4.21d).

- (4.21) a. *Jamaniki-rni narnangaj-ajkal-a marlumarlu-rna-rni.*
 this(m)-ERG mind-NOML(A)-m sick-DAT-FOC
 'He is a carer for the ill.'
- b. *jalanya-rna dajba-jkal-u*
 tongue-DAT bite-NOML(A)-n
 'a tongue-burner' (referring to spicy food)
- c. *Darra-jkali-rni nginari-rni bamardanya-nu darrangku-rna*
 eat-NOML(A)-f this(f)-ERG-FOC white.ant-did tree-DAT

marru-rna.
 house-DAT
 'This here white ant is an eater of trees and houses.'

- d. *Ngindaniki bunumurra, kiwarlija, dalyi, ngirdingirda—*
 this(m) brown.snake king.brown whip.snake olive.python

walujabirni mikinji-rni ngurraku.
 carpet.snake snake-ERG 1pl.Inc.ACC
 'Brown snakes, king browns, whip snakes, olive pythons, carpet
 snakes—they're all snakes to us.'

4.1.2.2 Possession

Possession in Jingulu is marked in a number of ways, depending on the nature of the possessor–possessum relationship and on the morphosyntactic category of the word corresponding to the possessor. The first option makes use of a set of pronouns (GEN pronouns, based on the stem for Accusative pronouns (see §5.2.3), to indicate the person and number of the possessor. These pronouns inflect for gender in agreement with the gender of the possessum. In this regard they resemble possessive pronouns in Romance languages. The relationship of possessor to possessum is typically considered to be predication within an NP. In Jingulu, however, possessive pronouns seem to be free nominals or NPs like any other, agreeing in gender with their referents, able to be separated from other co-referent nominals (4.22a–b), able to appear without any other overt co-referent nominal (4.22c), and manifesting their own case-marking (4.22d–f). These elements can therefore generally be considered free nominals meaning 'mine', 'theirs', 'my one', 'your one' and so forth rather than modifiers such as 'my', 'his' and 'their'. Both possessor and possessum appear in bold type in (4.22). The morphology of GEN pronouns is discussed in detail in §5.2.3.

- (422) a. *Angkula nyambala ya-nu ngarru, kiwirra.*
 NEG DEM(n) 3sg-did 1sg.GEN none
 'I didn't have any of mine left, none.'
- b. *Nyinda-rni jalurruka ngaba-nga-yi ngarri-na.*
 DEM(m)-FOC tea have-1sg-FUT 1sg.GEN-m
 'I'd like my tea.'
- c. *Ngarru-nu ngaba-nga-rriyi, duwangaba-nga-rriyi*
 1sg.GEN-n have-1sg-will.go take.away-1sg-will.go
 'I'll take mine, get rid of it myself.'
- d. *Kanya ngarri-na ya-rriyi niyirmi-mi-warndi*
 uncle 1sg.GEN-m 3sg-will.go 3sg.GEN-v-INST
karnarrinyimi-warndi.
 spear-INST
 'My uncle will go (hunting) with his spear.'

- e. *Angkula ngaja-nga-ju, bikirra ya-ju murlurlu-mbili ngarru-nu-mbili.*
 NEG see-1sg-do grass 3sg-do pupil-LOC 1sg.GEN-n-LOC
 'I can't see, there's grass in my eye.'
- f. *Ya-jiyimi ngarru, ngawu-ngka ngarru-nu-ngka.*
 3sg-come 1sg.ACC house-ALL 1sg.GEN-n-ALL
 'He's coming to me, to my house.'

Possessors represented by overt nominals other than pronominals bear Dative case marking. Dative nominals in this function can co-occur in a clause with co-referent Genitive pronouns (4.23c). The DAT marker is discussed in §5.3.3.1.2. Again, both possessor and possessum are in bold type in (4.23).

- (4.23) a. *Jayirrama-nga-ju abaaba-rni wawa-rna.*
 dress-1sg-do clothes-FOC child-DAT
 'I'm changing that kid's clothes.'
- b. *Jama-rni Jurlinginja-rni jami-rna Jamirringinji-rna biwurla.*
 that(m)-ERG skin-ERG that(m)-DAT skin-DAT son
 'Jurlinginja is Jamirringinja's son.'
- c. *warlaku-rna ngarnu marru*
 dog-DAT 3sg.GEN house
 'the dog's house'
- d. *Marru ngunja-ju baba-nga ngarrini-nga.*
 house burn-do o.sibling-DAT.f 1sg.GEN.f-DAT.f
 'My sister's house is on fire.'

As (4.23d) shows, marking of possession can be stacked, with DAT marking appearing on GEN pronouns or nominals already marked DAT. In this example, possession is marked twice on the first person pronoun, once because the first person is the possessor of the sister, and a second time because it is part of the expression 'my sister', which is in possession of the house.

As the distribution of GEN pronouns and DAT on possessor nominals is identical, the difference between pronouns and nouns is considered to be solely in the spelling out of possessor features on one class of word as opposed to another. The possessive pronoun is not called a DAT pronoun because the overt DAT case marker /-rna/ is also used on indirect objects (see §4.1.6), while pronominal indirect objects appear in the ACC form.

If possessor and possessum are in a part-whole relationship (such as body-part possession), the part and the whole are typically treated on a par, with neither bearing differential case marking (but see (4.22e) for an exception). Overt words representing the part and the whole can be adjacent (4.24a) or not (4.24b-c). Dative marking on the possessor is not possible (4.24d).

- (424) a. *Bij bila-nga-nu langa warridirli.*
 break-1sg-did ear number.7.boomerang
 'I broke the hook (ear) on my number seven boomerang.'
- b. *Nginda-rni warlaku lakarr nga-nu jarrumulu.*
 that(m)-FOC dog broken 1sg-did thigh
 'I broke that dog's leg.'
- c. *Jamaniki jarrumulu lakarr miji-mindu-nu.*
 this(m) thigh broken get-1dl.Inc-did
 'You and I broke its leg.'
- d. **Nginda-rni warlaku-rna lakarr nga-nu jarrumulu.*
 that(m)-FOC dog-DAT broken 1sg-did thigh
 'I broke that dog's leg.'

Words representing a possessor and a possessed item can stand alone as a sentence:

- (425) a. *Kunyakun ngawu-nu.*
 2dl.ACC house-n
 'This is your house here.'
- b. *Ngaanki-na ngaanku wawa.*
 2sg.GEN-m 2sg.ACC child
 'He's your son.'
- c. *Babirdimi ngarri-rnimi nyamaniki-rni.*
 yam 1sg.GEN-v this(v)-ERG
 'This is my yam.'

I assume that (4.25a–b) are syntactically instances of NP utterances ('your house', 'your son'), rather than sentences, as they lack the ERG marking expected with noun predicates (see §4.1.2.1). Sentences like (4.25c) and (4.23b), on the other hand, are instances of nominal predication. Note that (4.25a–b) are in the Kuwarrangu dialect, where ACC pronouns are optionally used with GEN function, instead of, or as well as, GEN pronouns. The difference between them, presented in §5.2.3, is that GEN pronouns are based on ACC pronouns but are extended by gender markers agreeing with the gender of the possessed item.

4.1.2.3 Adpositional predication

Some sentences consist of two nominals, one of which is made into an adpositional predicate by one of a number of adpositional (semantic case) morphemes:

- (426) a. *Ngunu janbara-ya jimi-rna darrangku-mbili.*
 DEM(n) nest-FUT that(n)-FOC tree-LOC
 'There's a nest in that tree.'
- b. *Jama-rni nyanyalu-ngkujku, darrangku kirdilyaku.*
 that(m)-FOC leaf-HAVING tree bent(n)
 'That one's leafy, the bent tree.'
- c. *Lawunja minanga-nkujku.*
 coolamon line-HAVING
 'The coolamon is striped.'
- d. *Jama-rni bininja kijurlurlu-jija.*
 that(m)-FOC man money-PRIV(m)
 'That man is poor.'
- e. *Ngina-rni nayurni wawa-jiji-rni.*
 that(f)-FOC woman child-PRIV-f
 'That woman is barren, she has no children.'

Note that the subject of the above sentences does not bear ERG marking. Each of the adpositional suffixes is described in detail in §5.3.3.2.

4.1.2.4 Adverbs as predicates

The comparative adverb *ambanama* ((4.27a-c)), meaning 'similar to' or 'like' and etymologically the purpose marker (*ng*)*amba* (see §4.2.2.2) plus the adverbialising suffix */-nama/* (see §3.2.2.2), is the only adverb typically used alone as a predicate (that is, in a clause that does not contain an inflecting core verb). The notion 'different from' is expressed by the adjective *karriyaka* with the suffix */-nama/* (4.27d) or by negating a clause which contains *ambanama* (4.27e), while comparatives of degree ('more than', 'less than') are created by juxtaposing clauses (4.27b, f).

- (427) a. *Jarlkandarru lawunja amba-nama, ibilka-nga.*
 bucket.shovel coolamon PURP-time water-DAT.f
 'A bucket shovel is like a coolamon, only for water.'
- b. *Jiminiki-rni birnmurru-nu amba-nama barrku, but kurlukurlu-kaji*
 this(n)-FOC club-did PURP-time nullanulla but small(n)-through
jiminiki-rni.
 this(n)-FOC
 'This here *birnmurru* is like a nullanulla, only smaller.'

- c. *Marlarluka-rni ila-nga-yi bijilirla amba-nama ya-marriyimi*
old.men-ERG put-1sg-FUT paper PURP-time 3sg-DIST

nyambala bijilirla darrangku kamarra.

DEM(n) paperbark tree bark

'We old guys used to call paper *bijilirla* because it resembled the bark of the paperbark tree.'

- d. *Jinjaraku-nu jiminiki-rni karriyaku-nama nyamba-nama bularraku,*
shitwood-did this(n)-FOC different-time DEM-time smoke.tree

jinjaraku-nu nyanyalu-nu kurlungkurlu-kaji.

shitwood-did leaf-did small(n)-through

'The shitwood here differs from the smoke tree in that the shitwood's leaves are smaller.'

- e. *Angkula kurrkabardi-rni amba-nama karninyinji.*

NEG turkey-FOC PURP-time emu

'Bush turkeys are not like emus.'

- f. *Nyamaniki miringmi akiyibirdimi, jamaniki-rni miringmi bardakurrimi.*

this(m) gum bad(v) this(m)-FOC gum good(v)

'This gum is better than this (other) gum.'

Clauses with *ambanama* can be considered adjectival predications (§4.1.2.1) with *ambanama* and a noun 'X' creating an adjectival predicate with meaning roughly corresponding to 'X-ish'.

Other adverbs do not usually occur alone as predicates in Jingulu. They typically modify clauses or verbs (with or without coverbal roots). However, some rare constructions occur in which an adverb appears to stand alone as a clausal predicate, without an inflected (core) verb:

- (428) a. *Ngarri-nirni jakardirni jungkali.*

1sg.GEN-f mother far

'My mother lives far away.'

- b. *Kardarrukuji biba-marri.*

all.night storm-DIST

'There was a storm all night.'

4.1.3 Adverb placement

Adverbs are, like other phonological words, freely ordered with respect to other words in the clause. The sentences in (4.29) are permutations of sentences produced by speakers, which were verified and repeated by the speaker. There is no apparent difference in meaning implied by alternate positions of the adverb.

- (4.29) a. *Birrik wawurru-mbili ngurru-wa.*
 straight bush-LOC 1pl.Inc-will.go
 OR *Birrik ngurruwa wawurrumbili.*
 OR *Ngurruwa wawurrumbili birrik.*
 'Let's go straight into the bush.'
- b. *Bambu ngirrma-nga-nu kaala kaala.*
 didgeridoo make-1sg-did quickly
 OR *Bambu kaala kaala ngirmanganu.*
 OR *Kaala kaala ngirmanganu bambu.*
 OR *Kaala kaala ngayirni bambu ngirrma-nga-nu.*
 quickly 1sg.ERG didgeridoo make-1sg-did
 OR *Ngayirni kaala kaala bambu ngirmanganu.*
 'I made the didgeridoo quickly.'
- c. *Dardu ngaba-nga-ju kijurlurlu.*
 much have-1sg-do stone(money)
 OR *Kijurlurlu dardu ngabangaju.*
 OR *Ngabangaju kijurlurlu dardu.*
 'I am wealthy.'

While they are freely ordered, adverbs do display strong *preferences* for certain positions with respect to the verb or to clause boundaries, depending on the kind of adverb. Adverbs can be divided into four broad categories on semantic grounds: adverbs of time (4.30), place (4.31), manner (including frequency) (4.32), and result (4.33).

- (4.30) a. *Ngurrarunama ngaja-nga-ju kijurlurlu.*
 early.morning see-1sg-do hill
 'I can see the hills early in the morning.'
- b. *Binyamaku yurriyi-wurru-nu bayin-bala.*
 late (in day) play-3pl-did person-pl
 'They were playing late.'

- c. *Yurriyi-ngurri-yi jalyangkunu.*
play-1pl.Inc-FUT today
'Let's play today.'
- d. *Jukurla-nga-rdi nankuna-mbili larrba.*
stay-1sg-HAB cave-LOC previously
'I used to sleep in a cave.'
- e. *Ngurrayiji angkula ngaja-nga-nu bardangkarra.*
night NEG see-1sg-did moon
'Last night I never saw the moon.'
- f. *Larrba marlarluka-rni imimikini ya-marriyimi, kiwirra.*
previously old.man(pl)-FOC old.woman(pl) 3sg-DIST none
'Old people used to do it, but no longer.'
- g. *Ilu-wurru-marriyimi larrba-rni janbara-ngka.*
put-3pl-DIST previously-FOC nest-ALL
'They used to put dead people in trees.'

Adverbs of time have a preferred sentence-initial position (4.30a–b, e–f), but may also occur sentence-finally (4.30c–d). Nominals and other adverbials or negation may intervene between the verb and time adverbials (4.30d–e). Oblique nominals may occur between time adverbials and clause boundaries (4.30g), though this is unusual.

- (431) a. *Ngarlarli wangku!*
hither come.IMPV.sg
'Come over here!'
- b. *Jayili ya-rdu marru-ngka, jayili urdurru ka-rdu marru-ngka.*
under 3sg-go house-ALL under inside 3sg-go house-ALL
'It's gone under the house, right underneath the house.'
- c. *Barrbarda warlumbu ngardajkalu wajan-ka-ju.*
far.side bullwaddy huge(n) stand-3sg-do
'There's a bullwaddy tree standing over on the far side.'
- d. *Nijiniji ila-nga-yi nginda.*
corner put-1sg-FUT DEM(m)
'I'll put it over in the corner.'
- e. *Durd maya-nga-yi lurrurnmi.*
kick-1sg-FUT testicles
'I'll kick him in the balls.'

- f. *Ngirringinmi walkinda-ngurri-yi wawa.*
 ceremonial.ring sweep-1pl.Inc-FUT boy
 'We'll whisk the boys off to the ceremony place.'
- g. *Nyinda-bila balkij wunyu-ju.*
 DEM(m)-dl beside 3dl-do
 'Those two are sitting close together.'

Adverbs of place, like adverbs of time, have preferred positions at clause boundaries, though (4.31g) shows that other positions are possible, particularly when the adverb is used in tandem with a root-less verb. Nominals used as adverbs of place (as in (4.31e–f), and possibly (4.31c–d)) differ from oblique NPs in that they are not marked with a locational case (LOC, ALL, or ABL), though this could be a result of dislocation applying to a nominal which would normally appear with case (see §4.1.1).

- (432) a. *Jandak mindu-wa.*
 permanently 1dl.Inc-will.go
 'We're going for good.'
- b. *Dardungkija-nama nga-ardi-rni.*
 every.day-time 1sg-go-FOC
 'I do it every day.'
- c. *Marriya ila-mi!*
 quiet put-IRR
 'Turn it down!'
- d. *Dardu-wala warrb wurru-ju.*
 mob all.together 3pl-do
 'They're all going together.'
- e. *Jarrkaja-ju imbila-nga-yi kunumburra.*
 run-do chase-1sg-FUT quickly
 'I'm going to try to get it.'

Manner adverbials seem to prefer positions that are immediately adjacent to the verbal word. The most common position for them is immediately preceding the verb word (4.32a–d). Material may intervene between manner adverbials and the verb word, as shown in (4.29b), but this is unusual.

- (433) a. *Ambaya-nga-ju lurrbu.*
 talk-1sg-do return
 'I send him/her back.'

[I talked him/her back]

- b. *Barlurlyi* *ila-nga-yi* *abaaba.*
 dry(n) put-1sg-FUT clothes
 'I'm drying my clothes.'

[I'm putting my clothes dry]

- c. *Ulukaja-nga-yi* *kilalijayili.*
 rub-1sg-FUT clean
 'I'll go clean it.'

[I'll rub it clean]

- d. *Jamurri* *ila-nga-yi* *arduku.*
 cool put-1sg-FUT careful
 'I'm cooling it down carefully.'

[I'm putting it cool carefully]


All instances of result adverbs that I could find are like the examples in (4.33) in that the adverbs are both adjacent to the verb and clause-peripheral, so it is difficult to say whether the preference is for clause-peripheral position or adjacency to the verb word. Note that (4.33d) involves both a result adverb and a manner adverb (*arduku*).

The ordering preferences for adverbials of all types can be explained by a pragmatic or stylistic preference for adverbial elements (which do not inflect for gender, number, or case) to occur adjacent to the element they modify. Adverbs of place and time (and result) generally modify the entire clause, while adverbs of manner modify the predicate. Therefore we expect adverbs of place and time to occur at edges of the clause, while adverbs of manner should be next to the verb word.

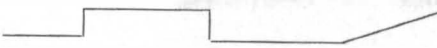
4.1.4 Questions

4.1.4.1 Simple questions

Yes/No questions can be formed by intonation alone (differing from assertions or declarations only in having a rising intonation at the end of the sentence, as displayed in (4.34a–b)) or by using the Yes/No interrogative *jani* (4.34c–d). Other questions involve a clause-peripheral interrogative word (4.34e–i), known as *wh*-words because their English counterparts typically begin with 'wh' ('what, who, where, when ...'). The forms of interrogative words are discussed in detail in §5.1.4. *Wh*-words are usually found in clause-initial position (4.34e–h), and extremely rarely in sentence-final position (4.34i), when they are usually separated from the rest of the clause by a slight break (indicated by a comma).

- (434) a.  ← Pitch
- Ngaba-nya-miki ngarru nganga-rni.*
 have-2sg-came 1sg.ACC meat-FOC
 'You brought me meat.'

b.



Ngaba-nya-miki ngarru nganga-rni?
have-2sg-came 1sg.ACC meat-FOC
'Did you bring me meat?'

← Pitch

c. *Jani ngaba-nya-miki nganga ngarru?*
Q have-2sg-came meat 1sg.ACC
'Did you bring me meat?'

d. *Jani madayi-rni ngaja-nya-ju?*
Q cloud-FOC see-2sg-do
'Can you see the cloud?'

e. *Ajuwa-ngkami wurra-miki?*
where-ABL 3pl-came
'Where did they come from?'

f. *Anuku wurra-miki-rni?*
how 3pl-came-FOC
'How did they get here?'

g. *Aji-rni ngaja-rnini-nu ngaanku?*
who-ERG see-3S2O-did 2sg.ACC
'Who saw you?'

h. *Waji-rni nganki-rnini kabinjukulirni?*
who-ERG 2sg.GEN-f wife
'Who is your wife?'

i. *Jungkaru-ngkami wurra-miki, ajuwa-ngkami?*
far-ABL 3pl-came where-ABL
'Which distant place did they come from?'

[lit. 'They came from afar, where?']

Speakers accepted questions with *wh*-words in positions other than clause-peripherally, but did not ever produce them. As mentioned in §4.1.1, dislocations never seem to co-occur with interrogatives in Jingulu, which suggests that both dislocated elements and *wh*-words occupy the same structural position (the specifier of CP, in many modern theories of syntax). *Wh*-words, like the cases of long-distance movement in (4.55), display the same core case marking as referential NPs construed with that argument position would, so that if the subject of a transitive clause is questioned, the

interrogative appears with an Ergative suffix (4.34g–h). In this regard they differ from dislocated expressions.

The interrogative *anikarrkaru* ('what sort') forms an NP with the noun it modifies, and this entire NP appears in the clause-peripheral position (4.35a). The modified noun need not be overtly present (4.35b).

- (435) a. *Kijurlurlu anikarrkaru maja-nya-nu?*
 stone what.sort(n) get-2sg-did
 'What kind of stone did you get?'
 b. *Anikirrkidbi ngimaniki-rni?*
 what.sort(v) this(v)-ERG
 'What kind (of vegetable) is this?'

4.1.4.2 Multiple interrogatives

When more than one aspect of an event or situation is to be questioned, Jingulu speakers generally use more than one question clause:

- (436) a. *Wajuwara ngaja-nya-ju? Nyambala ngaja-nya-ju?*
 where see-2sg-do what see-2sg-do
 'Where do you see it? What do you see?'
 or 'What do you see where?'
 b. *Ajuwa ngaja-nirna-ka ngaanku? Aja nirna-ka ngaanku?*
 where see-3S2O-PST.HAB 2sg.ACC who 3S.2O-PST.HAB 2sg.ACC
 'Where were you being seen? Who was seeing you?'
 or 'Who was seeing you where?'

Jingulu speakers generally resisted clauses with more than one *wh*-interrogative in them, but would accept them and on rare occasion could be enticed into producing them, though none ever occurred in conversation or texts. The questions in (4.37) are all of the examples of multiple interrogatives in a single clause that I elicited.

- (437) a. *Nyamba-rna waji-rni maya-rnini-nu?*
 what-DAT who-ERG hit-3S2O-did
 'Who hit you for what reason?'
 b. *Wajuwaru-ngkami waji-rni maya-rninu-ngku?*
 where-ABL who-ERG hit-3S.2O-will.come
 'Who will attack you from where?'

- c. *Aja-rni nyamba ngaba-miki jamaniki-rni?*
 who-ERG what have-came this(m)-ERG
 'Who among these people brought what?'
- d. *Waju aji-rni bundurru-nu ngininiki ngaba-miki?*
 what who-ERG food-did this(n) have-come
 'Who brought what of this food?'
- e. *Wajuwara-ngkami maya-rnini-nu aji-rni?*
 where-ABL hit-3S2O-did who-ERG
 'Who hit you and where is he from?'

As the examples in (4.37) show, when there is more than one interrogative word in a clause, all of them appear clause-peripherally, usually at the beginning of the clause. Interrogatives representing adjuncts precede those representing arguments (4.37a–b). Based on the minute sample here, there are no ordering preferences when both *wh*-words represent arguments (4.37c–d).

4.1.5 Negation and quantification

Jingulu lacks existential and universal quantifiers (words with meanings like 'somebody, nobody, everybody, something, nothing, everything, some, no, every...'). In this regard, Jingulu is typical of languages having the nonconfigurational properties of free word order, discontinuous nominal expressions, and optionality of subject and object nominals (Baker 1996b). Quantification in Jingulu is instead expressed through the systems of adverbials and negation.

4.1.5.1 Negation

There are three ways of forming a negative in Jingulu. The all-purpose negative adverbial *angkula* is used to negate either clauses (in which case it is usually clause-initial, as in (4.38a–c)) or particular properties (when it generally precedes the property in question, as in (4.38d–e)).

- (438) a. *Angkula langkaj-nya-ju ngarru.*
 NEG hear-2sg-do 1sg.ACC
 'You're not listening to me.'
- b. *Angkula jamaniki-nu ngulyaj-bija.*
 NEG this(m)-did lie-PRIV
 'He is not honest.'
- [lit. 'It's not that he's unlying.']

- c. *Angkula marndaj lankaj bili-nginyu-ju-nga ambaya-nga-ju,*
 NEG OK hear-2sgS.1O-do-FOC talk-1sg-do

angkula jankijba-nga-ju nganku.
 NEG understand-1sg-do 2sg.ACC
 'I'm not listening to you; don't hear or talk your talk, I don't
 undertand you.'

- d. *Ngini-rni murdika angkula jarrkaja-ju. Kiwirra. Angkula*
 DEM(n)-FOC car NEG run-do none NEG

jarrkaja-jkal-u.
 run-NOML(A)-n
 'That car doesn't run. Not at all. It's not a goer.'

- e. *Ngujana-jkal-a angkula kalyirdji jamaniki-rni.*
 be.greedy-NOML-m NEG kind this(m)-FOC
 'That person's greedy, unkind.'

In (4.38d) the negative interjection *kiwirra* ('none') occurs. This interjection is not used to form negatives, nor can it be used as a nominal. As discussed in the next subsection, it is occasionally used as a negative quantifier of sorts, though this is unusual.

Another way of negating a nominal property is to use the Privative suffix /-jija/, which added to nominal gives the meaning 'lacking ...' or 'without ...':

- (439) a. *Ngininiki-rni kalirnimi-rni nginduwa-jija ya-ju duwa-ardi.*
 this(n)-FOC tree.species-FOC this.way-PRIV 3sg-do rise-HAB
 'The *kalirnimi* tree doesn't grow around these parts.'

- b. *Jamaniki wurrija-ni-ngku-ju kilarlija jaarndama-jija.*
 this(m) shave-INV-REFL-do clean(m) whiskers-PRIV
 'He shaves himself clean, has no whiskers.'

The Privative suffix is discussed in more detail in §5.3.3.2.4.

The other means of negation in Jingulu is the Negative Imperative light verb /-ji/. Appearing on coverbal roots without any agreement marking, it is always interpreted as a negative imperative (see (4.40)). As discussed in §2.4, /-ji/ induces vowel harmony on the root to which it is attached. The Negative Imperative is discussed in more detail in §6.2.2.

- (440) a. *Bijarrk biji-ji jamaniki-rni, ukuliji-rni!*
 squeeze-NEG.IMPV this(m)-FOC boil-FOC
 'Don't squeeze your boil!'

- b. *Kararlu-rni nuya-rni wajuwi-ji!*
 ground-FOC red.sand-FOC throw-NEG.IMPV
 'Don't throw that red sand!'

4.1.5.2 Quantification

As mentioned earlier, Jingulu lacks quantifier words with the meaning like 'every', 'everyone', and 'everything'. The word *dardu* ('many', 'much') is used in cases where this is intended, as in (4.41a). Another way of expressing universal quantification of the type 'all Xs (are) Y' is to state the proposition simply as 'Xs (are) Y' (4.41b-d).

- (4.41) a. *Dardu-darra dunju-wanyu-nu.*
 many-pl kiss-2dl-did
 'You two kissed everyone.'
- b. *Darrangku-nu windurru-ngkujku-darra.*
 tree-did root-HAVING-pl
 'All trees have roots.'
- c. *Jama-baji-rni-rni ngirribiji-wurri-nyi-yi ngaanku.*
 that(m)-pl.anim-ERG-FOC chat-3pl-2O-FUT 2sg.ACC
 'Everyone will talk to you.'
- d. *Nginda-baja-rni laringki-ngurru-ju.*
 that(m)-pl.anim-FOC remember-1pl.Inc-do
 'We know everyone.'

The use of the word meaning 'many' as a universal quantifier is common throughout central Australia.

The English negative quantifiers 'no one' and 'nothing' are translated in Jingulu with the general marker of negation *angkula* plus an appropriate interrogative (4.42a-b), by simple negation of an affirmative (4.42c-d), or on rare occasion by *kiwirra* or *kuwarrku* (4.42e-f), which are usually only used on their own (almost as if interjections) to mean 'there is nothing'. As with plain interrogative expressions, negated interrogatives appear at the beginning of the clause they belong to, but *kiwirra/kuwarrku* can appear anywhere in the clause as if it were a nominal word.

- (4.42) a. *Ngujana-jkal-a nya-nu bundurru-rna-rni jama-rni, angkula*
 be.greedy-NOML(A)-m 2sg-did food-DAT-FOC that(m)-FOC NEG
aja ngunya-nya-ardi.
 what give-2sg-HAB
 'You were greedy with that food, never giving any to anyone.'

- b. *Bininja nginda-rni mankiya-ardi, angkula waja ambaya-rdi*
 man that(m)-FOC sit-HAB NEG who speak-HAB

ngarnu, barnki-jija ngindaniki.
 3sg.ACC.m friend-PRIV this(m)

'That man's sitting there with no one to talk to, he's got no mates.'

- c. *Angkula ngaba-nya-miki ngarru.*
 NEG have-2sg-came 1sg.ACC
 'You brought me nothing.'

- d. *Angkula jangkijbi-nga-ju wurraku.*
 NEG know-1sg-do 3pl.ACC
 'I don't know any of them.'

- e. *Kiwirra ngang-rna jiminiki marru-rna.*
 nothing meat-DAT this(n) town-FOC
 'There's nothing in the way of meat in this town.'

- f. *Ngaba-nga-ju kuwarrku (angkula).*
 have-1sg-do none (NEG)
 'I don't have anything.'

Another way of saying 'nothing' is to use the negative marker *angkula* in conjunction with the negative polarity demonstrative *nyambakini*, constructed by suffixing /-kini/ (glossed as 'NEG.INDEF' for 'negative indefinite') to the interrogative/demonstrative *nyamba*. Younger and less fluent speakers did not recognise this construction.

- (443) a. *Angkula ngaba-nya-jiyimi ngarru nyamba-kini.*
 NEG have-2sg-come 1sg.ACC what-NEG.INDEF
 'You didn't bring me anything.'³

- b. *Angkula ngaba-miki ngarru nyamba-kini kiwirra.*
 NEG have-came 1sg.ACC what-NEG.INDEF none
 'No one brought me anything.'

Existential quantification, as in English 'some ...' is indicated in Jingulu by one of a few regular nominals meaning 'a few', such as *naraja* or *larranjku marndamarnda* (lit. 'one side of the hand') (4.44a–b). The words 'something' and 'someone' are translated in Jingulu by using a demonstrative or interrogative plus the indefinite marker /-nayi/ (4.44c–e). Demonstratives and interrogatives are discussed in §5.1 and the Indefinite marker is discussed in §5.3.4.

³ A more accurate translation would be the non-standard colloquial 'You didn't bring me nothing.'

- (4.44) a. *Ya-jiyimi larranjku marndamarnda.*
 3sg-come one.side hand
 'A few [half a handful of] people are approaching.'
- b. *Nyambala ya-ju kijurlu-darra naraja.*
 DEM(n) 3sg-do stone-pl few
 'There's a few rocks there.'
- c. *Jama-nayi ya-miki nganku.*
 that(m)-INDEF 3sg-came 2sg.ACC
 'Someone will come to (help) you.'
- d. *Aji-rni-nayi ngunya-ni-ngurru-nu.*
 who-ERG-INDEF give-INV-1pl.Inc-did
 'Someone gave it to us.'
- e. *Aja-nayi nayu-nga maya-nu.*
 who-INDEF woman-ERG.f hit-did
 'The woman hit someone.'

A combination of the negator *angkula* with an indefinite term constructed using /-nayi/ was accepted by speakers with the meaning 'no one' or 'nothing', and speakers noted that this was the way their forebears ('them old people') spoke:

- (4.45) *Angkula aji-rna-nayi ngaja-ni-nku-ju.*
 NEG who-FOC-INDEF see-INV-REFL-do
 'No one can see themselves.'

However, there were no instances of this construction produced by speakers themselves.

4.1.6 'Double object' and beneficiary constructions

There are a very small number of roots in Jingulu which typically occur in 'double object' constructions, including *nguny-* ('give', 'send'), *bajk-* ('tell'), and *ngab-* + COME/GO ('bring/take'). As noted in §3.1.2 and §4.1.1, Jingulu roots are typically ambiguous with regard to transitivity, with almost any root being able to appear in either transitive or intransitive constructions. It is therefore difficult to identify roots as being ditransitive in any meaningful sense. Sentences containing the roots listed above can be identified as 'double object' constructions on the basis of the case marking on nominals construed with the indirect object (in bold type in (4.46)). Indirect objects in double object constructions appear marked either Dative (4.46a–b) or in the unmarked Absolutive form (4.46c–e) (the direct object is Absolutive, as in any monotransitive clause). The variant with an Absolutive indirect object was described by speakers as

the 'short way'. If pronominal, Indirect objects appear in the Accusative form (4.46a–b, f–i), just like a direct object.

- (4.46) a. *Ngunya-nga-nu wurraku ngima-rni babirdimi-rni*
give-1sg-did 3pl.ACC that(v)-FOC yam-FOC

nginda-baja-rna wawa-la-rna.
that(m)-pl.anim-DAT child-pl-DAT
'I gave this yam to the children.'

- b. *Ngini-rni bundurru ngaba-nga-rruku ngarnu ngindi-rna*
that(n)-FOC food have-1sg-went 3sg.ACC.m that(m)-DAT

marluka-rna.
old.man-DAT
'I took some food to that old man.'

- c. *Nayuni ngunya-yi nyinda bininja.*
woman give-FUT DEM(m) man
'That woman is promised to that man.'

- d. *Wunya-nga-ju ngabulu wawa kurlukurla jalyamingka,*
give-1sg-do breast child small(m) baby(m)

jimurrdku ngunya-nga-ju.
milk give-1sg-do
'I'm giving breast milk to the little baby.'

- e. *Wunya-nga-yi nginda-rni marluka balika ya-ju jabarrka*
give-1sg-FUT that(m)-FOC old.man hungry(m) 3sg-do liver

ngunya-nga-yi.
give-1sg-FUT
'I'll give the liver to that hungry old man.'

- f. *Ngaba-nga-rriyi ngarnu ngini-rni bundurru ngunya-nga-rriyi*
have-1sg-will.go 3sg.ACC.m DEM(n)-FOC food give-1sg-will.go

nyinda.
DEM(m)
'I'm going to give that fellow some food.'

- g. *Umangku bajka-mi ngarru.*
story tell-IRR 1sg.ACC
'Tell me a story.'

- h. *Dungumi-nginyi-ju ngarnu, nganku ngunya-nga-ju ngarnu.*
 pay.back-1S.2O-do 3sg.ACC.m 2sg-ACC give-1sg-do 3sg.ACC.m
 'I'm paying you back for this, giving you this one.'
- i. *Ngibu-kurra-miki kurrubardi-rni ngirraku?*
 have-2pl-came boomerang-FOC 1pl.Exc.ACC
 'Did you people bring us any boomerangs?'
- j. *Ngunyi-nginyi-nyi-ju kunyaku.*
 give-1dl.Exc-2O-do 2dl.ACC
 'We'll give them to the pair of you.'
- k. *Ngunya-ana-mi ngamaniki-rni milakurrmi-rni, ngunya-ana-mi!*
 give-1O-IRR this(v)-FOC yam-FOC give-1O-IRR
 'Give me these yams, give them to me!'

Note that object agreement is optionally with either the direct (4.46h–i) or the indirect (4.46j–k) object.

One speaker categorically rejected double object constructions in which a Dative indirect object preceded the verb as 'upside-down' or 'back-to-front', though he allowed an Absolutive indirect object to precede the verb, as illustrated in (4.47). This is quite striking as argument order is otherwise extremely free in Jingulu. Other speakers accepted both of the structures in (4.47).

- (4.47) a. *Marluka ngunya-nga-yi malamba.*
 old.man give-1sg-FUT liver
 'I'll give the old man liver.'
- b. *?Marluka-rna ngunya-nga-yi malamba.*
 old.man -DAT give-1sg-FUT liver
 'I'll give liver to the old man.'

No special marking on either the verb or nominal is required when direct and indirect objects are co-referent:

- (4.48) *Ngunyu-ngurri-yi wunyaku.*
 give-1pl.Inc-FUT 3pl.ACC
 'We'll give them to one another.'

The root *burdb-* ('send') does not participate in double-object constructions. Instead the indirect object is marked Allative and the direct object Ergative (4.49). The marking of the direct object as Ergative appears to be licensed by the verbal suffix *-rra-*, which is discussed in §6.3.

- (4.49) a. *Nginda-bila-rni marluka-yila burdba-nga-yi-rra*
 that(m)-dl.anim-ERG old.man-dl.anim send-1sg-FUT-RRR
marlumarla-yila ngunbuluka-rni-ngka.
 sick(m)-dl.anim doctor-FOC-ALL
 'I'll send those two sick old men to the doctor.'
- b. *Nginda-baja-rni burdba-nga-nu-rra nginda-baji-rni-ngka.*
 that(m)-pl.anim-ERG send-1sg-did-RRR that(m)-dl.anim-FOC-ALL
 'I sent that mob over to that other mob.'

The fact that object agreement is optionally with either the direct (4.46h-i) or the indirect (4.46j-k) object, and that the choice does not depend on factors such as animacy, is curious, and is further evidence that the two objects can occur with either one hierarchically superior to the other, agreement being associated with only one of these positions. In all of these cases, however, the direct object is in the third person, and therefore would not have overt agreement. When I attempted to elicit first and second person objects of 'give', speakers gave only forms with the root *burdb-* ('send'), which, as demonstrated in (4.49), is not a double object verb.

The beneficiary of an action undertaken by someone may be encoded as an indirect object in some cases, appearing overtly as either an ACC pronoun (4.50a-e) or as a DAT-marked nominal (4.50e-g). The absolutive (unmarked) option is not available for free nominals construed with beneficiaries (unless the nominal is dislocated), unlike indirect objects in the 'double object' constructions discussed above.

- (4.50) a. *Jama-rni lalija kunjkuwa-mi ngarru kurlukurlu-ngka.*
 that-FOC tea pour-IRR 1sg.ACC small(n)-ALL
 'Put some tea into the little cup for me.'
- b. *Ngunu maja-mi ngarru darrangku.*
 DEM(n) get-IRR 1sg.ACC stick
 'Get me that stick.'
- c. *Nganya-mi ngarru kujika.*
 sing-IRR 1sg.ACC song
 'Sing me a song!'
- d. *Ngibu-kurra-miki kurrubardu-rni ngirraku?*
 have-2pl-came boomerang-FOC 1pl.Exc.ACC
 'Did you mob bring us any boomerangs?'
- e. *Marluka-rna bijki-kurru-wa ngarnu.*
 old.man-DAT converse-2pl-will.go 3sg.ACC.m
 'Why don't you go talk to that old man?'

- f. *Ngibu-kurru-ngku ngarnu kurrubardu ngarri-ni-rna kirda-rna?*
 have-2pl-will.come 3sg.ACC.m boomerang 1sg.GEN-m-DAT father-DAT
 'Did you mob bring my father a boomerang?'
- g. *Ngininiki ngirrma-nga-nu ngarnu ngarri-ni-rni wawa-rna.*
 this(n) make-1sg-did 3sg.ACC.m 1sg.GEN-m-FOC child-DAT
 'I made this one for my son.'

As mentioned in §4.1.2.2, these facts, combined with the marking of possessors, argue for a distinction between uses of the DAT marker. When marking indirect objects and beneficiaries, the pronominal equivalent of DAT is ACC, but when used to indicate possession, the pronominal equivalent of DAT is the paradigm of GEN pronouns.

4.1.7 Modality

Modality (possibility, ability, permission, need, etc.) is usually not directly expressed through linguistic means in Jingulu. Structurally declarative clauses, typically in the future tense, have modal interpretations in the appropriate contexts:

- (451) a. *Angkula muwum duka-rra-marri nga-ju manyanyan duka-nga-ju,*
 NEG darken-RRA-DIST 1sg-do go.to.sleep(RED)-1sg-do
angkula manyan duka-nga-yi.
 NEG go.to.sleep-1sg-FUT
 'I've been trying to get to sleep since dark, but I can't.'
- b. *Manyan duka-nga-rriyi, kardarrkuja-jbunji.*
 go.to.sleep-1sg-will.go all.night-ADJ
 'I should go to sleep, but I've been up all night.'
- c. *Nyama-rni lawu nya-yi. Ngaja-nya-yi jimi-rni buba karningka*
 2sg-FOC awake 2sg-FUT see-2sg-FUT that(n)-FOC fire LEST
jibijiyi-mi. Lawu nya-yi kardarrukuji.
 extinguish-IRR awake 2sg-FUT all.night
 'You must stay awake. You must watch the fire lest it go out. You must stay awake all night.'
- d. *Nyambala manyan-nayi nga-yi.*
 DEM sleep-INDEF 1sg-FUT
 'I might get some sleep.'

- e. *Bundurru maja-nga-rriyi.*
 food get-1sg-will.go
 'I want to get some food.'

Some additional modal force can be conveyed by adding the indefinite marker /-nayi/ to the negative marker *angkula*:

- (452) a. *Angkula-nayi manyan nga-yi, langa-mbili nga-ju.*
 NEG-INDEF sleep 1sg-FUT ear-LOC 1sg-do
 'I can't sleep, I'm thinking.'
- b. *Angkula-nayi manyan duka-nga-yi, lawu-nayi ngaya.*
 NEG-INDEF go.to.sleep-1sg-FUT awake-INDEF 1sg.NOM
 'I don't want to go to sleep, I want to stay awake.'
- c. *Angkula-nayi manyan nga-yi.*
 NEG-INDEF sleep-1sg-FUT
 'I'm not allowed to sleep.'

In the sentences in (452), the modified negative *angkulanayi* appears to indicate that the negation of the clause is not absolute, but rather modal, expressing notions such as 'not able to', 'not desiring to', and 'not permitted to'.

The indefinite suffix /-nayi/ can be added to adverbial elements, coverbal roots or fully inflected verbs to indicate possibility:

- (453) a. *Nyambala manyan-nayi nga-yi.*
 DEM sleep-INDEF 1sg-FUT
 'I might have a sleep.'
- b. *Yayiyu, maja-nayi bininja.*
 dunno get-INDEF man
 'I don't know, she might get married.'
- c. *Jama-bila-rni-rni nyambala wunyu-nku-ju-nayi ingiyingi.*
 that(m)-dl-ERG-FOC DEM 3dl-REFL-do-INDEF fight
 'Those two might be about to fight.'

See also (4.51d) and (4.52b) for further examples.

In addition, subordinate constructions (explored in more detail in §4.2.2) are used to expressed conditional types of modality:

- (454) *Angkula nyambala nga-ju, kabu nga-mi ngayirni,*
 NEG DEM 1sg-do ignorant.person 1sg-IRR 1sg.ERG

kalyurumu-ngkuj-bija, karningka ngaruk birdki-ngirri-mi.
 swim-HAVING-PRIV LEST drown-1pl.Exc-IRR
 'I can't do that, I don't know how, can't swim, we might drown.'

4.2 Complex sentences

The most common kind of complex sentence in Jingulu involves placing two clauses adjacent to one another. Whether these complex sentences are to be viewed as coordinate or subordinate depends on the relationship between the core verbs in each clause. In a coordinate structure the tense of each clause is absolute, which means the event depicted by each clause is located in time with respect to the time of utterance. In subordinate structures, the lower clause is dependent on the higher clause for the interpretation of tense in one of two ways. One possibility is that the subordinate clause is marked for tense but its tense is relative, the event depicted in the subordinate clause being located in time relative to the event time depicted in the main clause. The other possibility is that there is no syntactic verb (bearing tense) in the subordinate clause at all. In some kinds of subordinate clause, a morpheme usually reserved for nominal case marking appears on the verbal complex, indicating some relationship between the marked clause and the main clause in what appears to be either an incipient or vestigial switch reference system. Each of the aforementioned constructions is examined in turn in the following sections.

Common to all of these constructions is the immiscibility of material from the clauses within the sentence. While word order is extraordinarily free within each clause, there is no scrambling of words from one clause with words from another within a sentence; clauses are always continuous. The sentences in (4.55) represent rare apparent counter-examples to this claim. The elements in bold type appear to represent discontinuous clauses.

- (455) a. *Ngarri-na bardarda wardka-nga-ju ngarnu birrimilyi, **ya-jiyimi.***
 1sgGEN-m y.sibling(m) fall-1sg-do 3sgACC shoulder 3sg-come
 'My younger brother must be coming because my shoulder is twitching.'
- b. *Ngaja-nga-mu yurmukurdukurdu **walanja,** ngimuwara ya-rruku*
 see-1sg-do track goanna this.way 3sg-went
- walanja, **jalyamungku.***
 goanna new
 'I saw goanna tracks, the goanna went this way, fresh tracks.'

Note that these sentences involve a single element being moved out of its clause to a sentence-peripheral position. In theoretical terms, this could be a case of cyclic

movement of an element first to a position peripheral to its clause (the specifier of the lower CP), and thence to sentence-peripheral position (the specifier of the main clause CP), as indicated for (4.55a) in (4.56).

- (456) $[_{CP} [_{NP} \text{ my brother}]_i [_{IP} \text{ my shoulder is twitching } [_{CP} t_i [_{IP} t_i \text{ is coming}]]]]$
-
- The diagram shows a hierarchical structure of two CPs. The outer CP has a specifier $[_{NP} \text{ my brother}]_i$ and a complement $[_{IP} \text{ my shoulder is twitching } [_{CP} t_i [_{IP} t_i \text{ is coming}]]]$. The inner CP has a specifier t_i and a complement $[_{IP} t_i \text{ is coming}]$. Two arrows indicate movement: one from t_i in the inner CP to the t_i in the outer CP's complement, and another from $[_{NP} \text{ my brother}]_i$ to the outer CP's specifier position.

If the structure in (4.56) is correct for these sentences, the intermediate landing site (the specifier of the lower CP) cannot be occupied by other material, which means that these sentences should not be permitted when the lower clause contains a dislocation or a peripheral *wh*-word. Indeed no such examples were found, but given the rareness of these sentences in the first place, no firm conclusion can be drawn from this.

4.2.1 Coordinate structures

Coordinate structures are employed if two actions or states arise independently (there is no deliberate causal relation or contingency between the clauses), whether one occurs before the other or the two are simultaneous. Arguments may freely co-refer between conjoined clauses, and each clause contains a core verb whose tense is independent of the other clause and takes the time of utterance as its frame of reference. Examples of conjoined clauses are given in (4.57).

- (457) a. *Mankiya-nu dibij-kaji ya-rruku.*
 sit-did outside-through 3sg-went
 'She sat here and he went outside.'
- b. *Mankiya-nga-ju mungku ngirrma-nga-yi, nyamani ngirriki-rriyi.*
 sit-1sg-do earth.oven make-1sg-FUT 2sg.ERG hunt-will.go
 'I'll stay and build an earth oven while you go hunting.'
- c. *Nyamirni ngaya mankiyi-mindi-ju, marrinju imbiyi-mindu-ju.*
 2sg.ERG 1sg.NOM sit-1dl.Inc-do language talk-1dl.Inc-do
 'You and I are sitting, talking language.'
- d. *Yurru bardka-nga-yi jama-rna ya-jiyimi abardka-nga-yi arduku.*
 hide.down-1sg-FUT that-FOC 3sg-come duck-1sg-FUT careful
 'I'm going to duck down and hide from that one coming.'
- e. *Nginda-rni ya-jiyimi ungkarra-jiyimi.*
 DEM(m)-FOC 3sg-come whistle-come
 'Here comes someone whistling.'

- f. *Duwa-rnu ngarru durjudurjurra-mu bunbaku-rna.*
 rise-did 1sg.ACC prepare.to.fight-did fight-DAT
 'He got up and prepared to fight me.'
- g. *Jangka-nama nga-ardu ngirriki-nama lurrbu nga-angku.*
 another.time 1sg-go hunting-time return 1sg-will.come
 'I'm going hunting and then coming back.'
- h. *Jaburra-nama wurru-ku kibirdki, ngirriki-kaji wurru-ku.*
 first-time 3pl-went swim hunting-through 3pl-went
 'First they went swimming, then hunting.'
- i. *Kurrubardu ngirra-ma-nga-yi mujiya-kaji nga-ka.*
 boomerang make-1sg-FUT forget-through 1sg-PST.HAB
 'I want to make a boomerang but I've forgotten how.'
- j. *Burdba-nga-rruku mijuwulmi ngaya-rni angkula nga-rriyi.*
 send-1sg-went tobacco 1sg.NOM-FOC NEG 1sg-will.go
 'I sent you tobacco, but I'm staying here.'
- k. *Ngininiki mirrinmirrinji maja-nga-nu karnarrinymi-rna,*
 this(n) soap.tree get-1sg-did spear-DAT
karnarrinymi ngilma-nga-yi.
 spear make-1sg-FUT
 'I got this soap tree for a spear, I'll make a spear.'
- l. *Jama-bila-rna mirrngiji-wunyu-nku-ju, ngayirni nyirrakba-nga-nu.*
 that-dl-DAT blame-3dl-REFL-do 1sg.ERG steal-1sg-did
 'Those two blame each other, but I stole it.'

Sentences (4.57a-f) show conjoined clauses with simultaneous action, while (4.57g-l) have sequential action in the clauses. The order of the clauses need not reflect the order of the actions, as (4.57i, l) show.

Conjoined clauses are used in Jingulu in many cases which would require subordinate clauses in English. A causal relation may be implied if the result is not an intentional outcome of the cause or if the cause is non-volitional:

- (4.58) a. *Naya-nga-nu budunarrimi langa nungka-ngarna-nu.*
 step.on-1sg-did bindii P pierce-3fS.1O-did
 'I stepped on a bindii and it pricked me.'
- b. *Nyinuwa jarrkaja-nga-rruku, durdurdubi-kaji nga-nu jingirdi-rni.*
 this.way run-1sg-went beat-through 1sg-did heart-FOC
 'I went for a run and my heart was thumping.'

- c. *Angkula arduwa-nga-yi kurrubardu, nogudbala nyambala lilingbi-nga-ju.*
 NEG throw-1sg-go boomerang no.good DEM(n) hurt-1sg-do
 'I can't throw that boomerang, that one (my shoulder) is no good.'
- d. *Jimi-rna nyambala warrka-nu, balarrjuwa-nu.*
 this(n)-FOC DEM(n) fall-did smash-did
 'It fell and smashed.'
- e. *Ngaya-rni ngamulu marliya-nga-nu bayin-bala-kaji wurra-miki*
 1sg.NOM-FOC big sick-1sg-did person-pl-through 3pl-came
bundurru ngunyu-karra-rna-nu.
 food give-3pl-1O-did
 'When I was sick lots of people brought me food.'
- f. *Wardjuwa-nga-nu angkula maya-nga-nu.*
 throw-1sg-did NEG hit-1sg-did
 'I threw but missed.'
- g. *Jukula-nga-nu kumungku marliya-nga-ju.*
 bend.over-1sg-did back sick-1sg-do
 'I bent over and now my back hurts.'
- h. *Manyan nga-yi wayabi nga-ju, manyan nga-yi ayinji.*
 sleep 1sg-FUT tired 1sg-do sleep 1sg-FUT little.while
 'I'm exhausted so I'll sleep a little while.'

The conjunct depicting the cause usually precedes the conjunct depicting the effect, but the reverse order is sometimes found (as in (4.58c, h)).

Occasionally even purpose clauses or conditionals are found as coordinated clauses, which is not the usual pattern:

- (4.59) a. *Mangulkbi dilma-nga-ju, darra-nga-yi umbuma-nga-yi.*
 guts cut-1sg-do eat-1sg-FUT cook-1sg-FUT
 'I'm cutting up the guts, which I'll cook and eat.'
 or 'I'm cutting up the guts to cook and eat.'
- b. *Dimilyi-rni maja-nga-yi, wukurni ngilma-nga-yi.*
 lancewood.bark-FOC get-1sg-FUT humpy make-1sg-FUT
 'If I get some lancewood bark, I can make a humpy.'

Both of these kinds of clause are usually marked by subordination. Purpose clauses are discussed in §4.2.2.2, and conditionals in §4.2.2.4.

Unexpectedly, one type of apparent relative clause, the *kurna/kurra* T-relative clauses discussed in §4.2.2.4 and exemplified in (4.64), might possibly also be considered coordinate structures.

4.2.2 Subordinate structures

A subordinate structure in Jingulu is characterised by one clause's dependence on the tense features of another clause for the interpretation of its own tense features. The clause that is dependent is called the subordinate clause and the clause whose tense features it is dependent on is the main clause. There are two main morphosyntactic strategies for encoding tense in subordinate clauses. One is to omit the core verb complex (light verb plus agreement prefixes) from the subordinate clause altogether, in which case all of the formal verbal features (specifically tense, aspect, and agreement) are to be interpreted as identical to those of the main clause. The second kind of subordinate clause contains a core verb, but the tense features of that verb are to be interpreted with respect to the event time of the main clause, not with respect to the time of utterance. Examples of both strategies are discussed in the following sections. Finally, there is a very rarely used switch reference construction, involving nominal case markers appearing as suffixes to core verbs in the subordinate clause (discussed in §4.2.2.6). Some kinds of subordinate clause are introduced by a complementiser which has lexical content, such as the Purposive *ngamba*, the Evitative (LEST) *karningka*, or interrogatives used to introduce relative clauses. The existence of overt complementisers allows us to test the dislocation hypothesis for case-less clause-peripheral nominals (see §4.1.1). If left-dislocated elements really do occupy the Specifier of CP, as suggested in §4.1.1, they should precede overt complementisers. Conversely, the only elements in a clause which should be allowed to precede overt complementisers are such dislocated elements. These predictions are borne out by the Jingulu data in (4.60), though there are few cases of words preceding overt complementisers at all, due to the fact that subordinate clauses tend to have fewer overt nominals in them than do main clauses. The dislocated element is in bold type in (4.60), and the immediately following word is a complementiser.

- (4.60) a. ... **jalyamingka** *ngamba dabili-wurru-nu ngurrarru ngunungku.*
 young PURP hold-3pl-did morning this.way
 '... so that the youngsters would go on until morning.'
- b. ... **dakarni** *karningka mard bajangayi mindi-mi.*
 there LEST trap-1sg-FUT 1dl.Inc-IRR
 '... lest we get trapped in there.'

In the following sections, different functions of subordinate clause are discussed, and we see that the choice of morphosyntactic strategy for expressing subordination is fairly free with respect to function of the clause. There are no co-reference or disjoint reference ('control') requirements on subjects between subordinate and main clauses.

4.2.2.1 Cause–Effect

As was shown in §4.2.1, cause–effect relationships, particularly those where the effect is not a volitional result of the cause, are often represented by coordinating clauses. However, these relationships can also be expressed using subordinate constructions, with the subordinate clause (in bold type in (4.61)) expressing the effect:

- (4.61) a. *Burdbu-ngurri-yi jama-niki-rni ngunbuluka-rni-ngka burdbu-ngurri-yi*
 send-1pl.Inc-FUT this(m)-ERG doctor-FOC-ALL send-1pl.Inc

lakarr maja-ni-nku-nu jarrumulu.

break-INV-REFL-did thigh

‘We had to send him to the doctor because he broke his leg.’

- b. *Kunjkuwa-nu nyambanayi lungkaru ngibi-ngurru-wa*
 swallow-did something poison have-1pl.Inc-will.go

ngunbuluka-rni-ngka.

doctor-FOC-ALL

‘He swallowed some poison so we took him to the hospital.’

- c. *Jama-baja-nu yurriyi-wurru-ju wawa-rla-rni karlingka*
 that(m)-pl-did play-3pl-do boy-pl-ERG boy

lakarr miji-wurru-nku-mi kardawurra.

break-3pl-REFL-IRR lower.arm

‘If these boys don’t stop mucking around they’ll break their arms.’

- d. *Wardka-nga-nu darrangku-ngkami lakarr maja-nga-nku ngalirrilirrirdi.*
 fall-1sg-did tree-ABL break-1sg-REFL collarbone
 ‘I fell out of a tree and broke my collarbone.’

- e. *Wardka-kaji nga-nu dil damangka-rni, ibijibiji-rni dil.*
 fall-through 1sg-did cut head-FOC brow-FOC cut
 ‘I fell right over and cut my head, cut my brow open.’

In (4.61a–b) the verb in the subordinate clause is a future-tense form, even though the events described took place in the past. This is because the tense in the subordinate clause is relative to that of the main clause, and the events described in the subordinate clause happened after those depicted in the main clause. That is to say that with respect to the time of the cause, the effect was located in the future. When the effect did not or has not yet actually happened, the Irrealis marker /-mi/ may be used on the subordinate clause, as in (4.61c). Another strategy altogether is employed in (4.61d–e), with the subordinate clause not containing a light verb at all. In these cases the tense features of the main clause are understood to apply to the subordinate

clause, which is then interpreted with respect to the time of utterance. This strategy is normally used for simultaneous or almost simultaneous cause-effect. So, in (4.61e), the cutting is to be understood as having happened in the past (note the past tense verb in the main clause) with respect to the time of utterance, not with respect to the time of falling. The falling and the cutting happened simultaneously, to all intents and purposes. These constructions can be understood as verb gapping (following Ross 1970), where the gapped verb is understood as being identical to the main clause verb. This is demonstrated by (4.61d), where agreement markers, normally only able to occur prefixed to core verbs, surface without an overt core verb (the verb having been gapped).

4.2.2.2 Purpose

Purpose clauses, where the subordinate clause expresses the reason for which the action depicted by the main clause is undertaken, make use of both subordination options, either bearing light verbs whose tense features are to be interpreted relative to the main clause (clear cases in (4.62b-e)) or lacking light verbs altogether, in which case the tense features are supplied by the main clause verb (4.62g-i). The purposive complementiser *ngamba* (meaning 'in order to') may introduce a purposive subordinate clause (4.62e-f, j-n).

- (4.62) a. *Jinjku maja-mi jiminiki buba ngirrmi-mindi-yi, jalurruka*
woodchip get-IRR this(n) fire make-1dl.Inc-FUT tea

umbumi-mindi-yi!

cook-1dl.Inc-FUT

'Get some woodchips so we can build this fire and make some tea!'

- b. *Mindubala Jurlinginja nginyi-rruku, miji-nginyi-riyi*
1dl.Exc.NOM skin.name 1dl.Exc-went get-1dl.Exc-will.go

ngindaniki Jiminginja.

this(m) skin.name

'Me and Jurlinginja went to collect this Jiminginja here.'

- c. *Nginda wurru-rruku kuna bularraku-ngka ningki-wurru-wardu*
that(m) 3pl-went ANAPH(m) smoke.tree-ALL chop-3pl-go

wangkurra.

sugarbag

'They went to that smoke tree to cut a sugarbag.'

- d. *Nyamina-rni nyinawurdirni-rni ya-rruku ngarnu jami-rna*
 DEM(f)-ERG echidna-ERG 3sg-went 3sg.ACC.m that(m)-DAT

darra-yi jama-rni bakumunjini.

eat-FUT that(m)-FOC ant

'That echidna went for those things, to get ants to eat.'

- e. *Banybila-minda-ku ngananjku, ngamba wumbumi-mindi-yi jalurruka.*
 find-1dl.Inc-went woodchip PURP cook-1dl.Inc-FUT tea
 'We went and found some woodchips so we could make some tea.'

- f. *Nyamirni bujbu kalyarri-mi, buba ngilma-mi, ngamba nganga*
 2sg.ERG earth.oven dig-IRR fire make-IRR PURP meat

lakud bila-nga-yi.

bury-1sg-FUT

'Dig an earth oven and build a fire so I can cook meat in it!'

- g. *Buba miji-nginyi-wardi ngimaniki-rni likinima-nu, dunjuwi buba,*
 fire get-1dl.Exc-HAB this(v)-FOC shellbush-did burn fire

kurlungkurla ngirriminjulu.

small(m) kindling

'We two get shellbush for kindling for fires.'

- h. *Jangan juwa-nginyi-yi jardurri juwi.*
 push-1sgS.2O-FUT down push
 'I'll push you back to push you down.'

- i. *Mamambiyaku diyinu maja-mi ila-kaji mandarra-ngka.*
 soft(n) gum get-IRR put-through sore-ALL
 'The bloodwood gum is softened to put on sores.'

- j. *Burdalu-kaji maja-nga-yi jama burdalyi-kaji nganga*
 cooked(n)-through get-1sg-FUT that(m) cooked(m)-through meat

ngamba darra-nga-yi.

PURP eat-1sg-FUT

'I'll get that meat out once it's properly cooked so I can eat it.'

- k. *Jama-rni ya-jiyimi ngarru ngarri-na-rni Jingila,*
 that(m)-FOC 3sg-come 1sg.ACC 1sg.GEN-m-FOC Jingili.person

ngamba imbiyi-nginyi-yi.

PURP speak-1dl.Exc-FUT

'That Jingili fellow, countryman of mine, must be approaching so that he and I can have a talk.'

- l. *Kurlungkurlu maja-nga-yi darrangku, ngininiki jingi-rni*
 small(n) get-1sg-FUT tree this(n) bauhinia-FOC

maja-nya-yi ngamba-yi ird bila-nga-yi

get-1sg-FUT PURP-FUT paint-1sg-FUT

'I'll get a little bauhinia branch so I can paint.'

- m. *Wulukaja-nga-yi ngamba ya-yi ngarru kilarliju.*
 wash-1sg-FUT PURP 3sg-FUT 1sg.GEN clean(n)
 'I'll do the washing so that my stuff is clean.'

- n. *Yalyalyaku jimi-rni darrangku maja-mi, kilyilyi-ngkujku*
 fork that(n)-FOC tree get-IRR fork-HAVING

jimi-rni maja-mi, ngamba nginda-rni dabila-nga-yi mikinji.

that(n)-FOC get-IRR PURP that(m)-FOC hold-1sg-FUT snake

'Get that forked stick, get the forked one so I can hold snakes with it.'

The Purposive marker *ngamba* is best viewed as a complementiser because of its fixed position at the beginning of the purpose clause it introduces (though, as discussed in the introduction to this section around (4.60), it can be preceded by a left-dislocated element, which is another reason for viewing it as a complementiser). In (4.62l) *ngamba* hosts a light verb which is identical to the verb in the clause which it introduces. This is the only instance I found of such a construction, with a complementiser hosting a light verb.

The use of *ngamba* is optional, and it appears that its use is restricted to those clauses in which tense is interpreted relative to the main clause tense, as no examples of *ngamba* with light verb gapping have been found, nor could they be elicited (but core verb gapping was always rejected by informants if produced, despite the fact that it appeared in texts as a common strategy in subordinate clauses). The suggestion is, then, that the tense of the verbs in the purposes clauses in (4.62j-n) are interpreted relative to the tense in the main clause. This cannot be verified or denied, since the tense in both clauses is future, so the tense of the subordinate clause is in the future both with respect to the action of the main clause and with respect to the utterance time.

4.2.2.3 Evitative

The Evitative complementiser *karningka* (glossed 'LEST') introduces a clause which indicates a state or action that will arise as a result of the truth conditions of the main clause not being met:

- (4.63) a. *Buba jimi-rni ila-mi jungkali marru-ngka-mbili karningka*
 firewood that(n)-FOC put-IRR far house-ALL-LOC LEST

buba-arndi ngunji-jiyimi marru.

fire-INST burn-come house

'Put the firewood down far from the house, lest the fire burn the house down.'

- b. *Ngaba-ng-a-rriyi dardu larnku karningka nyinda-nu wawa*
 have-1sg-will.go many clothes LEST DEM(m)-did child

wurrajkalu-jiyimi.

cold-come

'I'll take lots of clothes so that the boy doesn't get cold.'

- c. *Warlaku marliya-ju, kawul dakarni, karningka*
 dog sick-do straight leave.it.IMPV LEST

daj baji-ni-ngurru-mi!

bite-INV-1pl.Inc-IRR

'The dog is sick, leave it alone or it might bite us!'

- d. *Angkula nyambala nga-ju, kabu nga-mi ngayirni,*
 NEG DEM 1sg-do ignorant.person 1sg-IRR 1sg.ERG

kalyurumu-ngkujku-bija, karningka ngaruk birdki-ngirri-mi.

swim-HAVING-PRIV LEST drown-1pl.Exc-IRR

'I can't do that, I don't know how, can't swim, we might drown.'

The tense features of the core verb in the LEST clause are interpreted as relative to the main clause tense. In (4.63b), for example, the present tense of the subordinate clause is to be understood as contemporaneous (or practically so) with respect to the main clause event of going somewhere taking clothes along. This main clause event is located in the future with respect to the time of utterance and so the event of the boy getting cold, although expressed in the present, is to be understood as potentially occurring in the future with respect to utterance time.

4.2.2.4 Relative clauses

Relative clauses in Jingulu are all adjuncts to the main clause (see Hale 1976 on the adjoined relative clause in Australian languages) and can generally be, in the terms of Austin (1981) and Dench and Evans (1988), either T-relative (relativisations on the temporal structure of the main clause) or NP-relative (modifiers of one of the participants represented by a (typically nominal) argument or adjunct). T-relative clauses, in bold in (4.64), describe situations located with respect to the time structure of the main clause, and are translated in English using relative complementisers like 'when', 'as', or 'while'. The T-relative complementisers *kurna* or *kurra* (glossed 'TC') are used to mark a relative clause which temporally precedes, but is a contingency for, the event described in the main clause (4.64a-c). Conditional clauses can also be introduced by TC+FOC (or TC+FUT+FOC), as demonstrated in (4.64d-e).

- (4.64) a. *Jakardini ya-angku, kurna ya-angku jakardini mankiya-yi,*
 mother 3sg-will.come TC 3sg-will.come mother sit-FUT

wayabi ya-yi.

tired 3sg-FUT

'My mother's coming, when she gets here she'll sit down because she will be tired.'

- b. *Kurna ya-angku ngarri-na ankila ya-angku,*
 TC 3sg-will.come 1sg.GEN-m cousin 3sg-will.come

ngirra-kaji ngurri-yi.

make-through 1pl.Inc-FUT

'When my cousin comes, we will all build it.'

- c. *Kurra ibilkirni wardka-yi, banybila-nga-yi nginaniki-rni*
 TC rain fall-FUT find-1sg-FUT this(f)-FOC

lamurrangkurli-rni, dardu-rni ya-ardi.

stinking.turtle-FOC many-FOC 3sg-HAB

'When it rains you can find lots of these stinking turtles there.'

- d. *Kurra-rni angkula ardbala burrub nga-yi, ngaja-nga-yi*
 TC-FOC NEG slowly heal 1sg-FUT see-1sg-FUT

mikanykuji karriba.

doctor white.person

'If I don't get better eventually, I'll have to go see a whitefella doctor.'

- e. *Kurna-yi-rni ngaja-nga-nki-yi bardakurriya-nga-yi, angkula marru*
 TC-FUT-FOC see-1sg-REFL-FUT get.well-1sg-FUT NEG town
nga-rriyi mankiya-nga-yi.
 1sg-will.come sit-1sg-FUT
 'If I start to get better, I won't come into town and stop there.'
- f. *Dirndi-ngurru-nu jurliji kijurlurlu-warndi, uluwijirni junybaka-ju.*
 shoot-1pl.Inc-did bird stone-INST sun set-do
 'We tried to hit birds with stones as the sun was setting.'
- g. *Jalalarrka duwa-ardi miji-nginyu-wardi.*
 mushroom rise-HAB get-1dl.Exc-HAB
 'When mushrooms grow, we get them.'
- h. *Karijba-mbili nga-rruku mudika, mudika-ngkami ngaja-nga-ju*
 road-LOC 1sg-went car car-ABL see-1sg-do
mardardaju.
 bump
 'Driving along the road, out of the car I saw many bumps.'
- i. *Mankiya-nga-nu ngawu-mbili kurrubardu ngirrma-nga-bardi,*
 sit-1sg-did camp-LOC boomerang make-1sg-HAB
kujkarrarni.
 two
 'I was sitting in camp making boomerangs, two of them.'
- j. *Ningki-nginyu-ju darrangku karnawunji, kunyurlu mankiya-nu-ma*
 cut-1dl.Exc-do tree lancewood 2dl(f)NOM sit-did-EMPH
wandayi-mbili.
 shade-LOC
 'We cut the lancewoods while you two sat in the shade.'

The tense features of a T-relative clause are always expressed overtly. When there is no overt complementiser, as in (4.64f-j), the tense of the relative clause is interpreted as relative to the event time of the main clause. In (4.64a-e) however, where the relative clause is introduced by an overt complementiser *kurna* or *kurra*, it appears that the relative clause bears its own independent tense marking, contrary to the pattern observed thus far for subordinate clauses. It could be, therefore, that these 'when/while' clauses are not structurally subordinate at all, but rather coordinate with the other clause which bears the same tense marking.

By contrast with T-relative clauses, NP-relative clauses are not always contiguous.

These clauses are often introduced by a demonstrative (often an anaphoric demonstrative (4.65a), though other demonstratives (4.65b–c) or interrogatives (4.65d) will serve the purpose), or by an apparent relativiser *juna* (4.65e). This element, *juna*, was found in only three sentences, but always with NP-relative clauses.

- (4.65) a. *Nginda wurru-wardu kuna bunungkurru-ngka kuna*
 that(m) 3pl-go ANAPH(m) billabong-ALL ANAPH(m)
wamba nyambala lurnkurru ngaba-ju.
 snappy.gum DEM(n) middle have-do
 'They're going to that lake that has the snappy gum in the middle of it.'
- b. *Nyamirna-rna ngibi-wurri-jiyimi imikirni nyambala mirrirda-mi*
 DEM(f)-DAT have-3pl-come old.woman DEM(n) teach-IRR
wurraku ngini-rni darrangku.
 3pl.ACC that(n)-FOC tree
 'They're bringing that old woman who knows all about plants.'
- c. *Wilijird ngaja-nga-nu jama juwarra-rnana-jiyimi.*
 look.back-1sg-did that(m) follow-3S.1O-come
 'I looked back at the guy who was following me.'
- d. *Jama-rni aja ngarri-na-rni kangkuya-rni, ngarri-ni-rna*
 that(m)-FOC who 1sg.GEN-m-FOC grandpa-FOC 1sg.GEN-m-DAT
ngarru kirda-rna.
 1sg.GEN father-DAT
 'That's who is my *kangkuya* is, from my Dad's side.'
- e. *Nginda ngiji-wurru-wardu nyamarni imikirni juna warlaku*
 that(m) see-3pl-go DEM(f) old.woman REL dog
nyambala murrkulu nyambala jarrumulu.
 DEM(n) three DEM(n) leg
 'They're going to see the old woman with the three-legged dog.'
- f. *Darra-kaji ngirri-ju wangkurra, banybili-ngirru-nu.*
 eat-through 1pl.Exc-do sugarbag(m) find-1pl.Exc-did
 'We're eating that sugarbag up, the one we found.'

- g. *Jama-rna ngibi-wurri-jiyimi bininja ngibi-wurri-jiyimi jama-rna*
 that(m)-DAT have-3pl-come man have-3pl-come that(m)-DAT

irrk bilajbungku ngaba-jiyimi jimi-rni murdika-rni.
 painting have-come that(n)-FOC car-FOC
 'They're bringing that guy who'll paint this car.'

- h. *Kibardki ibilka-rni nya-yi ngardajkala-rni, nginda*
 bathe water-FOC 2sg-FUT big(m)-FOC that(m)

bunungkurru-mbili miji-ngurri-nu kurdijalaka.
 billabong-LOC get-1pl.Exc-did mussel
 'Wherever there's enough water in a billabong for you to bathe, we would get mussels there.'

- i. *Kujkarrabilarni kurrkabadi-yila ngaja-nga-nu mangkuru-mbili,*
 two turkey-dl see-1sg-did plain-LOC

dirri-wunyu-bardi waniyi.
 eat-3dl-HAB grasshopper
 'I saw two turkeys on the plain that were eating grasshoppers.'

- j. *Jama-rni bininja-rni ngaja-nu, kulabajarra-rni irrkburrbu*
 that(m)-ERG man-ERG see-did hat-FOC white

ngaba-nu, jarrumulu lakarr ngaja-nu walanja.
 have-did thigh broken see-did goanna
 'That man with the white hat saw the goanna with the broken leg.'

The tense of the adjoined clause is interpreted relative to the main clause tense (illustrated most clearly by (4.65c, i)). The use of demonstratives and interrogatives to introduce relative clauses is unusual among Australian languages (though Patrick McConvell (pers. comm.) notes that deictics have grammaticalised as subordinators in several Numpin-Yapa languages, and Mary Laughren informs me that Walmajarri uses a demonstrative for this purpose). However, it is unlikely that this is a calque from English, as Jingulu speakers' English noticeably lacks interrogatives used as relative pronouns.

4.2.2.5 Causatives

There are two ways of expressing causation in Jingulu. The first method, illustrated in (4.66), makes use of the root *ngirrm-* ('make', also 'mend'), with the causing agent as the subject of the *ngirrm-* clause and the caused event in the place of the object. This is effectively equivalent to the English 'make' causative and is unlike causatives

in most Australian languages. Notably, some speakers rejected this construction outright. This suggests that 'make' causatives in Jingulu are a calque from English.

- (4.66) a. *Ngindaniki-rni kulirndirnda, kulirndirnda-rni dirri-ngirru-wardi,*
 this(m)-FOC wasp.gall wasp.gall-FOC eat-1pl.Exc-HAB

darra-marri ngirrimi-marri wawala-rla-rni-rni.
 eat-DIST make-DIST child-pl-ERG-FOC

'This is wasp gall, we eat wasp gall, and we used to make the young kids eat it too.'

- b. *Jama-rni ngirrima-ka wawa ngina ngarrabaja-yi manyan bila-ka.*
 that(m)-ERG make-PST.HAB child that(f) tell-FUT sleep-PST.HAB
 'He used to make that girl go to sleep by telling her to.'

- c. *Ngirrima-nga-yi nyama ngurruwa kibardka-ju-ngka.*
 make-1sg-FUT 2sg.NOM this.way swim-do-ALL
 'I'll make you go swimming over there.'

Note that such a construction can have two positions associated with overt Ergative nominals, the causer (in bold type in (4.66b)) and the subject of the clause depicting the caused event or state if that clause is transitive (bold in (4.66a)). The use of the Allative case on an inflected verb in (4.66c) is an example of the rare switch reference construction, discussed in §4.2.2.6.

The second form of causative appears to involve a suffix, /-yili/. This is illustrated in (4.67). Unfortunately I was unable to collect more examples of this suffix, and further questioning only caused the speaker to revert to the use of *ngirrim-* causatives.

- (4.67) a. *Jimi-rni murdika-rni akiyabardu, ngirrima-nga-yi jarrkaja-yili.*
 that(n)-FOC car-FOC bad(n) mend-1sg-FUT run-CAUS
 'That car's no good, I'll fix it so it goes.'⁴

- b. *Jarrkaja-yili nginyi-yi ngaanku.*
 run-CAUS 1S.2O-FUT 2sg.ACC
 'I'll make you run.'

Those speakers who rejected the *ngirrim-* causative offered the similar construction in 4.68 as the correct alternative. This involves *ngab-* ('hold/have') in conjunction with a verb indicating motion away ('go'), which translates literally as 'take'. The verb in the lower clause is then marked with the putative CAUS suffix /-yili/.

⁴ It is possible that this sentence is a further example of a /*ngirrim-*/ causative, and that /*ngirrim-*/ does not have its literal meaning of 'mend' here at all. In this case the sentence should be translated as 'That car's no good. I'll make it run.'

- (4.68) *Ngibi-nginyu-wa ngaanku kibardka-yili.*
 have-1S2O-will.go 2sg.ACC swim-CAUS
 'I'll make you go swimming.' / 'I'll take you swimming.'

In the clauses I found which involved /-yili/, there is no overt marking of tense on the subordinate clause, but the event in the subordinate clause is always interpreted as being a direct consequence of the event in the main clause. This resembles the Warlpiri Translative /-karda/ (Simpson 1991), which appears on nominals to express an intended result of an action or event. In Jingulu the suffix in question forms a result clause in combination with a coverbal root, and therefore must contain (verbal?) grammatical category features itself, in accordance with the principles set out in Chapter 3.

4.2.2.6 Switch reference

Switch reference in Australian languages is an areal phenomenon which has a boundary at Jingulu. If Jingulu does indeed have a switch reference system, it is the northernmost Australian language to do so. Australian switch reference, surveyed by Austin (1981), involves marking particular kinds of subordinate clauses with a morpheme, most commonly homophonous with, or containing an element homophonous with, a case marker. This morpheme typically indicates whether the subject of the subordinate clause is co-referent with or disjoint in reference from the subject of the main clause. It is difficult to say for certain whether Jingulu has a switch reference system. It was certainly very difficult to elicit switch reference marking, and speakers generally rejected sentences with putative switch reference marking, whether generated by themselves or by other Jingulu speakers (the form in (4.69b) being the only one that a speaker explicitly accepted, when I generated it). However, Austin (1981), discussing Hale's (1960) material, notes that there may be some evidence for switch reference marking in Jingulu, and I have collected some cases of nominal case marking on verbal words which could be switch reference marking.

If these rare constructions are in fact switch reference marking, they follow a pattern familiar among Australian languages which have switch reference.⁵ The inflected verb in the subordinate clause bears a marker, homophonous with a nominal case marker: LOC if the subjects of the main and subordinate clauses are co-referent (4.69a-c), ALL if they are not (4.69d-g).

- (4.69) a. *Nga-ju ngarmu kabijka-ju-mbili.*
 1sg-do 3sg.ACC.m laugh⁶-do-LOC
 'I am (sitting) laughing at him.' (from Hale 1960, via Austin 1981)

⁵ For descriptions of Australian switch reference systems, see Austin (1981). For analyses see Pensalfini (1995) and particularly references therein.

⁶ The coverbal root meaning 'laugh' is usually /kabij-/ . I believe this sentence was mis-glossed, and that the correct sentence is that offered by speakers in (4.70).

- b. *Mankiya-nga-ju nguk-ajku-mbili.*
 sit-1sg-do cry-NOML(P)-LOC
 'I sit down crying.' / 'I'm crying every day.'
- c. *Karalu-mbili bikirra-kaji ila-ardi-mbili, manyan ya-ardi manyan*
 ground-LOC grass-through put-HAB-LOC sleep 3sg-HAB sleep
karaja ngarnu.
 grass 3sg.ACC.m
 'It puts grass down on the ground and sleeps on that grass.'
- d. *Ngaja-nga-ju mankiya-ju-ngka.*
 see-1sg-do sit-do-ALL
 'I see him sitting.' (from Hale 1960, via Austin 1981)
- e. *Jurlinginja ngarrabaja-nga-yi maja-yi-ngka ngarru larnku.*
 skin tell-1sg-FUT get-FUT-ALL 1sg.GEN clothes
 'I'll tell Jurlinginja to bring my stuff here.'
- f. *Mangkuru-mbili banybili-ngirri-wardi budukirrini-rni,*
 plain-LOC find-1pl.Exc-HAB goanna-FOC
wanyim-ajku-ngka jalyangkunu ngaba-ju kidba.
 walk-NOML(P)-ALL now have-do egg
 'We could find a female plains goanna walking along on the plain—they have their eggs at this time.'
- g. *Ngirra-nga-yi nyama ngurruwa kibardk-ajku-ngka.*
 make-1sg-FUT 2sg.NOM this.way swim-NOML(P)-ALL
 'I'll make you go swimming over there.'

There appears to be a weak association between the use of this morphology and a habitual interpretation, but this is by no means the only possible interpretation of clauses with this kind of marking, as the above sentences demonstrate. There are only three known examples of the use of Locative marking on verb words to indicate co-reference of the subordinate clause subject with the main clause subject, and they are the form collected by Hale in (4.69a) and those collected by me in (4.69b–c). One speaker actually corrected (4.69a) to the form given in (4.70), where the LOC-marked element is a nominal meaning 'the funny thing', and LOC marking has its usual nominal function (see §5.3.3.2.1).

- (4.70) *Nga-ju ngarnu kabij-ajku-mbili.*
 1sg-do 3sg.ACC.m laugh-NOML(P)-LOC
 'I am laughing at the funny story.'

The form in 4.70 is a simple monoclausal sentence with a LOC-marked nominal adjunct.

Note that some of the forms in (4.69) involve affixation of the putative switch reference marker to a fully regularly inflected verb, while others involve affixation to the neuter form of /-ajk-/ nominalisations (see §3.2.1). This latter option follows the typical Australian pattern, in which switch reference morphology is affixed to infinitival or nominalised forms of the verb. This is to be expected if the switch reference markers are synchronically, as well as historically, related to nominal case morphology (as argued in Pensalfini 1995).

Sentences (4.69d–f) involve relative clauses (which all translate into English as clausal complements, but see §4.2.3 on why all apparent clausal complements are actually relative clauses) with Allative marking on the verb and disjoint reference between the subjects of the main clause and subordinate clauses. If the sentences in (4.69) do actually represent either the remnants or the beginnings of a switch reference system, this system resembles the switch reference system for relative clauses in Garrwa and Wanyi, which are the only other non-Pama-Nyungan languages with switch reference systems (Austin 1981). In these languages, LOC marking is used to represent co-reference of subjects between clauses, and ALL for disjoint reference. This differs from similar systems in Pama-Nyungan languages where subject co-reference is often indicated by Ergative marking (in many of these languages Ergative and Locative marking are homophonous, but in some where they are distinct, ERG is used for subject co-reference and LOC for disjoint reference). Pensalfini (1995) suggests, following observations and ideas by Austin (1981) and Dench and Evans (1988), that ERG is used for subject co-reference because the subordinate clause is predicated of the external argument, while a locational case (LOC or ALL) is used for different subjects because in the canonical case of a relative clause with a different subject to the main clause, the subordinate clause is contemporaneous with the action of the main clause and is therefore a T-relative clause. Locational cases mark location in time as well as in space, and are therefore ideal markers of T-relative clauses.

Assuming that switch reference originated among Pama-Nyungan languages and later spread to Garrwa and Jingulu, the homophony of ERG and LOC in many Pama-Nyungan languages (including the Arandic languages) allowed for languages that had distinct ERG and LOC marking, such as Jingulu, to use the Locative in same-subject switch reference function.

The rareness of switch reference constructions in Jingulu suggests that they may not actually be part of the core of Jingulu grammar, but instead may be calques from Mudburra, which is more widely spoken in the community and which is spoken fluently by the majority of the Jingulu speakers with whom I worked.

4.2.3 Clausal arguments

Some predicates take propositions, rather than or in addition to entities, as semantic arguments. An example of such a predicate in English would be the verb *believe*, whose object may be an entity (*I believe you*) or a proposition (*I believe you are lying*).

Jingulu allows a clause to function as an argument when that clause can be interpreted as referential (a thing, a noise, a fact), as demonstrated in (4.71). Unlike regular nominal expressions, such clauses always appear sentence-peripherally and their subconstituents may not be separated. This suggests that they are obligatorily dislocated (see §4.1.1 for a discussion of nominal dislocation).

- (4.71) a. *Ngarrabaja-mi jamaniki-rni marliyi-ngirri-ju.*
 tell-IRR this(m)-FOC sick-1pl.Exc-do
 'Tell that person that we're sick.'
- b. *Jam-bila-rna lankaj nga-ardi wunyaku bunbaku imbil-unyu-wardi.*
 that-dl-FOC hear 1sg-go 3dl.ACC fight argue-3dl-PRES
 'I hear them arguing.'
- c. *Nyinda-baja dardu-nu lankaj wurru-ju mindaku mindiyili-rni*
 DEM(m)-pl many-did hear 3pl-do 1dl.Inc.ACC 1dl.Inc-ERG
imbiyi-mindu-ju-ma.
 talk-1sgdl.Inc-do-EMPH
 'All those people are listening to you and I talk now.'
- d. *Lankaj bila-nga-ju bangkurlini ngiyarra-ju.*
 hear-1sg-do mosquito buzz-do
 'I hear a mosquito buzzing.'
- e. *Ngaja-nga-ju wurraaku murrkun-bala wijin wurru-ju marlyaku.*
 see-1sg-do 3pl.ACC three-pl.anim stand 3pl-do other.side
 'I can see three people standing on the other side.'
- f. *Bujkuwa-nga-ju kandirri ngunja-ju.*
 smell-1sg-do damper burn-do
 'I smell the damper burning.'
- g. *Ngaja-arru-mi nginda langanda-ju kijurlurlu-mbili jangki!*
 see-2pl.IMPV-IRR that(m) climb-do rock-LOC high
 'You fellas look at him climbing high on the rock!'

All of the roots used with clausal objects in (4.71) are also found either with nominal objects or used intransitively (e.g. /ngaj-/ 'look' and 'see', /lankaj bil-/ 'hear' and 'listen'). The appearance of an Accusative pronominal object in conjunction with a clause in (4.71b, c, e) suggests a similar analysis to the NP-relative clauses presented in §4.2.2.4, where the clauses were analysed as being adjoined to the main clause and construed with null elements in argument positions. Apparent clausal complements can therefore be treated as adjoined relative clauses in the sense of Hale (1976), and they behave like any other relative clause in the language.

5 *Nominal morphology*

The next two chapters contain a detailed discussion of morphological variation in those parts of speech which display it. This chapter concentrates on the morphology of nominal words, including demonstratives (§5.1), pronouns (§5.2), and marking of nominal features such as case, number and indefiniteness (§5.3). Paradigms are given where appropriate. Some unusual phenomena are discussed, including gender and number ‘disagreement’ (see §5.3.1.3 and §5.3.2.2, see also §6.1.5).

As discussed in §3.1.1, nominals are defined in morphological terms as elements which can inflect for case and number. For a discussion of whether nominals should be further subdivided into adjectives and nouns, see §3.1.1.

5.1 Demonstratives

Under this heading are discussed demonstratives of location and direction as well as anaphoric and referential demonstratives and interrogative words. In the example sentences which illustrate demonstratives, the demonstrative appears in bold type.

5.1.1 *This, that, and the other thing*

Referential demonstratives (‘this’, ‘that’, ‘those’ etc.) in Jingulu, as in most Australian languages, can be translated as either the modifying ‘this/that’ or the referential ‘this one/that one’. A referential demonstrative can form an NP of itself, and need not modify another nominal. Demonstratives are extremely common in speech, occurring in over half of all sentences collected. Jingulu has three lexical sets of demonstratives.

The first, illustrated in (5.1), is the *jama/jimi* set. These are distal demonstratives (not close to the speaker, meaning ‘that’ or ‘that one’), but can be made proximal (close to the speaker: ‘this’, ‘this one’) by the addition of the proximal suffix /-niki/ (as in (5.1e–h)). In brief, *jama* is the masculine form and *jimi* the neuter (this point is taken up later).

- (5.1) a. *Jimi-rni jurruma-mi burrbaji-kaji!*
 that(n)-FOC wipe.out-IRR finish-through
 'Get rid of all that!'
- b. *Jami-rni maya-nu jama.*
 that(m)-ERG hit-did that(m)
 'One hit the other.'
- c. *Ardu-maja-rriyi jama ngunbuluka jami-rna, ngunbuluka-rni*
 go-get-will.go that(m) doctor that(m)-DAT doctor-ERG
wunjyuma-nurna-nu.
 cure-3sgS.1sgO-did
 'We'll get the doctor for him. The doctor cured me.'
- d. *Jama-baji-rni buyu-wurru-ju.*
 that(m)-pl-FOC smoke-3pl-do
 'Those people are smoking.'
- e. *Bulajbunji jamaniki-rni.*
 speared(m) this(m)-FOC
 'This guy has been speared.'
- f. *Jamaniki-rni naya ajanka-ju biya-ngka kumungku-mbili.*
 this(m)-FOC step stand-3sg-do behind-ALL back-LOC
 'There's someone standing behind you.'
- g. *Jiminiki-rni karriyaku imbiyi-wurru-ju marrinjku.*
 this(n)-FOC different speak-3pl-do language
 'This is a different language they speak (here).'
- h. *Warnu jiminiki buyi-mindi-yi.*
 tobacco this(n) smoke-1dl.Inc-FUT
 'Let's smoke this tobacco.'

The suffix /-niki/, which appears on all series of demonstratives, strongly implies visibility. In (5.2), /-niki/ appears on *nginda*, one of a series of demonstratives to be discussed next. The contrast between the sentences in (5.2) demonstrates the implication of visibility.

- (52) a. *Ngaja-nga-yi ngindaniki bininja.*
 see-1sg-do this(m) man
 'I can see this man.'
- b. **? Angkula ngaja-nga-yi ngindaniki bininja.*
 NEG see-1sg-do this(m) man
 'I can't see this man.'

In only one instance, the suffix */-niki/* was found on a word other than a demonstrative, also implying proximity. This is shown in (5.3), but does not appear to be productive.

- (53) *Yalbawurrini ngarru ngarri-niki-rni, nyamba-kunu umanguku-nu.*
 bilby 1sg.ACC 1sg.GEN-PROX-f DEM-??? dreaming-did
 'The bilby is my very own dreaming there.'

As (5.1c) demonstrates, demonstratives are often used in Jingulu where English would use third person pronouns. In fact, Jingulu lacks third person singular nominative pronouns altogether (see §5.2), using only demonstratives in this function. As demonstrated in several of the sentences in (5.1), demonstratives can inflect for number and case like any other nominal.

As mentioned earlier, *jama* is masculine in gender and *jimi* is neuter. In elicitation sessions, speakers rejected *jama* used co-referentially with feminine or neuter nominals, and similarly rejected *jimi* with vegetable nominals. However, in accordance with the principles of gender neutralisation set out in §5.3.1.3, *jama* is often found in discourse co-referent with nominals of any gender (though typically with animates), and *jimi* with neuter or vegetable gender nominals (typically inanimate):

- (54) a. *Jamaniki-rni kurrinbirrmi-rni angkula nginimbili binjiy-ardi.*
 this(m)-FOC green.plum(v)-FOC NEG here grow-HAB
 'The green plum doesn't grow around here.'
- b. *Jama warda-ju ngarnu wawa-rna.*
 that(m) yell-do 3sg.ACC.m child-DAT
 'She's yelling at the children.' ['she' from context]
- c. *Jiminiki irrk bilajburdi kulungkukbi.*
 this(n) painted(v) didgeridoo (v)
 'This didgeridoo is painted.'

The second and third sets of demonstrative stems are like *jama* and *jimi* in having different forms for different genders. The first of these series set out in Table 5.1, the */nyam-/* paradigm, has three distinct forms, using the same form for both neuter and vegetable genders. The second series in Table 5.1, the */ngin-/nyin-/* paradigm, has distinct forms for each of the four genders.

Table 5.1: Demonstratives varying according to gender

stem	masc.	fem.	neut.	veg.
/nyam-/	<i>nyama</i>	<i>nyamarni</i>	<i>nyambala</i>	<i>nyambala</i>
/ngin-/	<i>nginda</i>	<i>ngina</i>	<i>ngini</i>	<i>ngima</i>
/nyin-/	<i>nyinda</i>	<i>nyina</i>	<i>nyini</i>	<i>nyima</i>

The demonstratives in Table 5.1 are illustrated in (5.5). Like the *jama/jimi* demonstratives, these are all distal but can be made proximal by the addition of /-niki/ (5.5d, g, j, m, p). The /nyam-/ series has only one proximal form, *nyamaniki*, with /-niki/ not suffixing to *nyambala* or *nyamarni*, but the /ngin-/nyin-/ series has a proximal form for each gender. Sentence (5.5n) suggests that proximal marking is optional, since this demonstrative appears without proximal marking although the referent is clearly close to the speaker. As indicated by (5.2), however, when /-niki/ does appear the demonstrative is always interpreted as proximal.

- (5.5) a. *Nyama ngaba-ju wangkurra-ngkujku ngima-rni-rni yurrku-nu,*
that(m) have-do honey-HAVING that(v)-ERG-FOC flower-did¹

bukumarra.

corkwood

'The corkwood has honey-laden flowers.'

- b. *Kirnbilirdi nyamarni-nu arndil-jija-nu, angkula ngaba-ju*
stone.axe DEM(f)-did handle(Kr)-PRIV-did NEG have-do

darrangku— marndamarnda-mbili dabila-nga-ju kirnbilirdi.
tree hand-LOC hold-1sg-do stone.axe

'These stone axes have no handles, no wooden part—you hold them in your hand.'

- c. *Nyambala abaaba wulukaja-nga-yi, klin-bala yili.*
that(n) clothes wash-1sg-FUT clean(Kr)-one put
'I have to wash my clothes, make them clean.'

¹ Note the appearance of /-nu/ (glossed 'did') on *yurrku* ('flower') in this example. Morphemes typically used to mark tense (along with aspect, mood, and associated motion), and analysed in this grammar as verbal heads (see Chapter 3), sometimes appear on nominals with deictic function. This is discussed in §6.2.4.

- d. *Warridirli nyamaniki kurlukurlu jiminiki, ngaba-ju nyambala*
 number.7 this(m) small(n) this(n) have-do DEM(n)

ukurndurru.

elbow

'The little part of the number seven boomerang, that's the elbow.'

- e. *Nyama, nginda ngaja-nya-ju nya-rruku.*
 2sg.NOM that(m) see-2sg-do 2sg-went
 'You can see yourself and him.'

- f. *Nyama ngaya mindi-wa dabili-mindi-yi nyinda baya.*
 2sg.NOM 1sg.NOM 1dl.Inc-will.go hold-1dl.Inc-FUT that(m) young.man
 'You and I must hug that young man.'

- g. *Yabarni ngindaniki-rni yurrba kalyurra.*
 youth-FOC this(m)-FOC troublesome no.good
 'This young fellow is a troublemaker.'

- h. *Kunyaku dunji-wunya-nu ngina.*
 2dl.ACC kiss-3dl-did DEM(f)
 Those two came and kissed you two (women).

- i. *Wanyik-urlu nyina-bulu ladaji-wunyu-ju arduku.*
 girl-dl DEM(f)-dl dry-3dl-do slow
 'The two girls are slowly drying out.'

- j. *Ibilka-rni nginaniki-rni biringbiyikirni.*
 water-FOC this(f)-FOC shiny(f)
 'This water is shining.'

- k. *Nga-rriyi ngini buji-ngka jukula-ngarriyi murrkulijka.*
 1sg-will.go that(n) bush-ALL stay-1sg-will.go three.days
 'I'm going to the bush for three days.'

- l. *Dunjuwa-ngay-i nyini-rni namarlu.*
 burn-1sg-FUT that(n)-FOC hole
 'I'm burning a hole.'

- m. *Irriminjulu ngininiki buba ngirrma-ngay-i bardakurra.*
 kindling this(n) fire make-1sg-FUT good(m)
 'This kindling will make a good fire.'

- n. *Kulyukulyumi darra-nga-ju ngima-rni.*
conkerberry eat-1sg-do that(v)-FOC
'I'm eating these conkerberries.'
- o. *Nyima-rni maami nyurruji-mindi-yi.*
DEM(v)-FOC food grind-1dl.Inc-FUT
'We'll grind these ingredients.'
- p. *Julyumirra-nya-ju mami-rni ngimaniki-rni ngamba darra-nya-yi.*
squeeze-2sg-do vegetable-FOC this(v)-FOC PURP eat-2sg-FUT
'You're squeezing that fruit so you can drink it.'

Masculine demonstratives are found co-referent with nominals of all genders, in accordance with the principles of gender neutralisation discussed in §5.3.1.3. In (5.6), for example, the masculine *nginda* is co-referent with the neuter nominal *darrangku*.

- (5.6) *Jirrkiji-mindu-wa nginda darrangku-ngka.*
run-1dl.Inc-will.go that(m) tree(n)-ALL
'Let's run over to that tree.'

Finally, the neuter demonstrative *ngunu*, which never bears the suffix /-niki/ and does not belong to any series of demonstratives, is demonstrated in (5.7). In accordance with the principles of gender neutralisation in §5.3.1.3, *ngunu* can only ever co-refer with neuter or vegetable gender nominals.

- (5.7) a. *Ngunu dij bila-mi nyanyalu!*
DEM(n) break-IRR branch
'Break that branch!'
- b. *Ngunu janbara-yi jimi-rna darrangku-mbili.*
DEM(n) nest-FUT this-FOC tree-LOC
'There's a nest in that tree.'
- c. *Ngunu maja-mi ngarru darrangku!*
DEM(n) get-IRR 1sg.ACC stick
'Get me that stick!'
- d. *Ngunu murdika jangan juwa-nya-yi.*
DEM(n) car push-2sg-FUT
'You push the car.'
- e. *Ngunu-baju wamba-rdarra nangka-nga-yi Jadadayi-rni.*
DEM(n)-pl snappy.gum-pl chop-1sg-FUT Saturday-FOC
'I'll cut those snappy gums on Saturday.'

- f. *Wawa-rni jangkangi ngunu janbara, jaangki ngaja-nu.*
 child-ERG high.up DEM(n) nest high see-did
 'The child saw that nest high up [in the tree].'

The demonstrative *ngunungku*, apparently composed of *ngunu* plus the core verb /-ngku/ ('will come'), translates as 'this way' and indicates either location (5.8a–d) or manner (5.8e–h).

- (58) a. *Bardawurri-mi karalu ngirribiji-ngirri-wardi ngunungku-nu,*
 good-v ground tell-1pl.Exc-HAB this.way-did
Jarrimanu-nu.
 Jarrimanu-did
 'We say that it's good ground over there, over Jarrimanu way.'
- b. *Jangu wardka-ngarri-yi ngunungku kalirrungu-ngka.*
 climb.up-1sg-will.go this.way hill-ALL
 'I will climb the mountain by this path.'
- c. *Jukaya ngarru-nu ngarru ngunungku.*
 chest 1sg.GEN-n 1sg.GEN this.way
 'Here's my chest now.' [pointing]
- d. *Nga-ardu-kaji karnjanjaru-ngka nga-ardu-kaji ngunungku.*
 1sg-go-through scrubby.ridge-ALL 1sg-go-through this.way
 'I'm crossing into some scrubby ridge country.'
- e. *Jalanma-mi ngarru ngunungku-mi nyamaniki?*
 untie-IRR 1sg.ACC this.way-IRR this(m)
 'Untie this package for me like this, would you?'
- f. *Jungarri-warndi dirndi-ngirri-wardi, ngunungku*
 small.grindstone-INST grind-1pl.Exc-HAB this.way
dirndi-ngirri-wardi ngangarra.
 grind-1pl.Exc-HAB wild.rice
 'With the little grindstone we grind up wild rice like this.'
- g. *Ngunungku ya-ju dilmi-ngirri-wardi jilibi.*
 this.way 3sg-do cut-1pl.Exc-HAB umbilical.cord
 'We need to cut its umbilical cord like this.'
- h. *Ngunungku ila-mi!*
 this.way put-IRR
 'Do [paint] it this way!'

If is extremely common for more than one referential demonstrative to refer to a single referent:

- (5.9) a. *Jalanma-nga-yi ngininiki nyinda ila-nga-yi waya-angka ladaji ya-yi.*
 loosen-1sg-FUT this(n) that(m) put-1sg-FUT wire-ALL dry 3sg-FUT
 'I'll take these out and put them on the line to dry.'
- b. *Ngunu ngaja-mi mayamba ka-jiyimi nginda.*
 DEM(n) see-IRR whirlwind 3sg-come that(m)
 'Look, there's a whirlwind coming up.'
- c. *Ngininiki-rni nyambala darrangku-nu nayajalu.*
 this(n)-FOC that(n) tree-did heavy(n)
 'This branch here is too heavy to pick up.'

As (5.9a–c) show, the multiple demonstratives referring to a single entity need not agree with one another in gender. This is because it is possible for gender neutralisation to affect one of a set of co-referent demonstratives (see §5.3.1.3).

5.1.2 The aforementioned and the newly introduced

Anaphoric or discourse demonstratives are used to refer to entities already present in the discourse. These are rare, and referential demonstratives are often used where anaphoric demonstratives could be. Jingulu has two such discourse demonstratives, *kuna* (masculine gender) and *kuyu* (neuter gender). As they are not referential, anaphoric demonstratives cannot bear the proximal suffix /-niki/, but can bear other nominal morphology.

- (5.10) a. *Nginda wurru-rruku kuna-angka bunungkurru-angka.*
 that(m) 3pl-went ANAPH(m)-ALL billabong-ALL
 'They went to that lake [you know the one].'
- b. *Nginda wurru-rruku kuna bularraku-angka ningki-wurru-wardu*
 that(m) 3pl-went ANAPH(m) smoke.tree-ALL chop-3pl-go
wangkurra.
 sugarbag
 'They went to that smoke tree to cut a sugarbag.'
- c. *Nginuwa wurru-rruku kuna darrangku janbara-ngkujku.*
 this.way 3pl-went ANAPH(m) tree nest-HAVING
 'They went to that tree with the nest in it.'

- d. *Kuyu-ngka-nama ya-rruku lurrbu.*
ANAPH(n)-ALL-time 3sg-went return
'He went back there.'
- e. *Kuyu-mbili-rni mankiya-nga-yi.*
ANAPH(n)-LOC-FOC sit-1sg-FUT
'I'll go sit in that place.'
- f. *Kuyu-ngkami duwi-yirri!*
ANAPH(n)-ABL rise-go.IMPV
'Get up and leave that place!'
- g. *Ngarla, maja-mi kuyu-nu.*
hey get-IRR ANAPH(n)-did
'Hey you, go get it.'
- h. *Arduku ngarriya-nga-nu nyinda nyinda-arlu nga-rruku-rni*
careful tell-1sg-did that(m) that(m)-pl 1sg-went-FOC

indal ngaba-nga-nu ngunu kuyu-warlu marrinjk.
tell.straight-1sg-did DEM(n) ANAPH(n)-pl word
'I tell you straight, tell you these words right.'

The foregrounding or 'cataphoric' demonstrative *jiyi* (all genders) is used to indicate a participant which is new to the discourse or event, or to foreground a previously backgrounded (and possibly forgotten about) participant. *Jiyi* is often used to introduce a new discourse topic.

- (5.11) a. *Ngajaja-nga-ju ngarnu banybila-nga-yi ajuwa-nayi*
look.round-1sg-do 3sg.ACC.m find-1sg-FUT where-INDEF

ya-rruku jiyi.
3sg-went CATAPH
'I'm looking around for them to figure out where they went.'
- b. *Nginda-baja-rni lakud wurru-ju, jiyi-baja-rni warrijbala-rni.*
that(m)-pl-ERG bury 3pl-do CATAPH-pl-FOC corpse-FOC
'They are burying the dead.'

- c. *Nyamba-nama nyambala karriyaku-nama kaburrkaburri ji-yi-rni*
 what-time that(n) different(n)-time brown(n) CATAPH-FOC

ijijurnminji-rni.

butcherbird-FOC

'Now there's a different one that is brown, that's the butcher bird called
ijijurnminji.'

- d. *Anyma-marriyi Jingila-rni ngini-ngkami-rni, ya-marriyimi*
 walk-DIST Jingili-ERG thence-FOC 3sg-DIST

dajka-marriyimi ji-yi-rni bininja-rni jimi-la-niki-rni-rni.

bite-DIST CATAPH-FOC man-FOC that(n)-pl-PROX-ERG-FOC

'The old Jingili would come back from those parts with food from
 these others.'

- e. *Ji-yi-rni bininja-rni Jingila-rni, wardjayi-rna-nu*
 CATAPH-FOC man-FOC Jingili-FOC sea.turtle-DAT-did

marru-ngka-rni.

home-ALL-FOC

'Now these Jingili people, they'd go for those sea turtle then come home
 with them.'

- f. *Nginda wurru-wardu juna-baja ngiji-wurru-wardu-rra bayinybala,*
 that(m) 3pl-go REL-pl see-3pl-go-RRA mob

kaburrkaburru murdika wurraku ngiji-wurru-wardu
 black(n) car 3pl.ACC see-3pl-go

ji-yi-baja wurraku.

CATAPH-pl 3pl.ACC

'They're going to see that mob, they're going to see that mob that has the
 black car.'

- g. *Kula-kaji ya-marriyimi ngarnu*
 spear-through 3sg-DIST 3sg.ACC.m

ji-yi-rni-nika-ngkujku-la-rni-rni wardjayi-rna-rni.

CAT-FOC-PROX-HAVING-pl-ERG-FOC sea.turtle-DAT-FOC

'They would spear things like sea turtles with these other people.'

The Jingulu word for 'mother-in-law', *jiyirni*, is possibly based on the cataphoric demonstrative plus the characteristic feminine ending */-rni/*. This would have arisen as a result of the social avoidance of direct reference to one's mother-in-law, with the

result that she would be referred to as 'that (woman)'. The term for 'mother-in-law's brother', *jaya*, would then be a backformation from *jiyirni* according to the pattern of other kinship terms, the masculine *jaya* being a result of removing the feminine suffix and 'undoing' a perceived harmony, leaving the pair *jaya* (masculine), /*jaya*/ + /f/ = *jiyirni*.

5.1.3 Hither, thither, and this way

The words corresponding to English 'here', 'there', 'hither' and 'thither' are commonly formed in Jingulu by addition of a locational or directional case suffix (LOC, ALL, or ABL, see §5.3.3.2.1) to a neuter referential demonstrative, most commonly, though by no means exclusively, to *ngini/nyini*. The proximal suffix /-niki/ is not used in the formation of locative demonstratives and so there is no distinction between proximal and distal ('here' and 'there') among these demonstratives.

- (5.12) a. *Dardu ya-ju nginimbili-rni mujaka, darndiyi, dardu ya-ju.*
 many 3sg-do here-FOC mouse rat many 3sg-do
 'There are lots of mice and rats around here.'
- b. *Barnmi banybila-nga-nu, wangkurra ya-ju nginimbili.*
 wax find-1sg-did sugar.bag(m) 3sg-do here
 'I found wax, there's a sugar-bag here.'
- c. *Ngunu-mbili ya-ju.*
 DEM(n)-LOC 3sg-do
 'There he is.'
- d. *Nyinda-bila nyinimbili mankiyi-nginyi-wardi.*
 DEM(m)-dl.anim here sit-1dl.Exc-HAB
 'We two live here.'
- e. *Ngirriki ngurru-wa arduku-nama ngini-ngka-kaji*
 hunting 1pl.Inc-will.go last(slow-time) that(n)-ALL-through
kibirdki-ngurru-ungku.
 swim-1pl.Inc-will.come
 'We'll go hunting then come right here for a swim.'
- f. *Mankiyi arduku ngurri-yi ngini-ngka.*
 sit careful 1pl.Inc-FUT that(n)-ALL
 'We're all going to sit over there.'

- g. *Ngina-niki-rna-mi ya-miki nginuwa-ngkami ngaja-nga-nu*
 this(f)-FOC-IRR 3sg-came this.way-ABL see-1sg-did

ngunu-ngkami ngawu-ngkami.

DEM(n)-ABL home-ABL

'I saw them come here from their home over there.'

- h. *Jimi-ngkami ya-miki wumbuma-jkala.*
 that(n)-ABL 3sg-came sting-do-NOML(m)
 'That stinging thing came from there.'

The combinations *ngini-mbili* and *nyini-mbili* are usually glossed "here", as in (5.12a, b, d), rather than being broken down into component morphemes.

Additionally, Jingulu has some lexical demonstratives of place and motion. The locative *dakani* (homophonous with an interjection meaning 'leave it!') is used to mean 'right there, in that very place' (5.13a). The demonstrative *ngarlarli* means 'over this way' or 'hither' (5.13b–c), and *nginuwa* is used to indicate a path or direction of motion ('this-a-way/that-a-way') (5.13d–f). The ABL suffix [-ngkami] can be added to *nginuwa* to make word meaning 'thence, from there' (5.13g). *Nginuwa* is also realised as *nginduwa*, *nyinduwa* and *nyinuwa*, all four forms being derived from masculine and neuter demonstratives of the /ngin-/nyin-/ series (see Table 5.1) by way of the tense marker /-wa/ in its deictic use (see §6.2.4).

- (5.13) a. *Jiminiki dakani warrkuj-ajkal-u, amba-nama warrkuja-ngana-ku*
 this(n) there scratch-NOM(A)-n what-time scratch-3sgS.1sgO-went

ngaya?

1sg.NOM

'I have a scratch there. What could have scratched me?'

- b. *Ngarlarli warrungku! Nyini-ngka ngarlarli warrungku!*
 hither come(IMPV.pl) that(n)-ALL hither come(IMPV.sg)

Warrungku ngarlarli!

come(IMPV.sg) hither

'Come over here! Come over onto this side! Come here!'

- c. *Nayurni ya-jiyimi ngarlarli.*
 woman 3sg-come hither
 'A woman is coming over here.'

- d. *Nginuwa wirri!*
 this.way go(IMPV.sg)
 'Go that way!'

- e. *Nyinuwa jarrkaja-nga-rruku durdurdbi-kaja nga-nu jingirdi-rni.*
 this.way run-1sg-went beat-through 1sg-did heart-ERG
 'I went for a run over that way and it really made my heart thump.'
- f. *Mindu-wa banybili nginduwa nganga.*
 1dl.Inc-will.go find this.way meat
 'Let's go off this way and find meat.'
- g. *Ya-miki nginuwa-ngkami ngaja-nga-nu ngunu-ngkami ngawu-ngkami.*
 3sg-came this.way-ABL see-1sg-did DEM-ABL home-ABL
 'I saw them come here from their home over there.'

5.1.4 Interrogatives

The preferred position for interrogative words is at the beginning of the sentence, though they may also occur sentence-finally. For a discussion of the syntax of questions, see §4.1.4. Interrogative words are all based on the three stems discussed in §5.1.4.1 below. Note that indefinite pronouns ('something', 'someone', 'somewhere' etc.) are derived from certain interrogative words by means of the suffix /-nayi/ (§5.3.4). Indefinite pronouns are not restricted to sentence-peripheral positions as interrogative words are, but enjoy the same freedom as other nominals.

5.1.4.1 *Who, what, when, where, why and how?*

Interrogative words in Jingulu are all based on the three stems *nyamba* ('what', probably related to the /nyam-/ demonstratives in Table 5.1), (*w*)*aja* ('what', 'who', 'which'), and (*w*)*ani* (possibly the same as *jani*; see §5.1.4.2). Interrogative words often appear bearing the suffix /-kaji/ (see §3.2.2.1), which imparts a sense of urgency to the question.

5.1.4.1.1 *Nyamba questions*

Used alone, *nyamba* asks 'what', as in (5.14). *Nyamba* is often realised as [amba] or [wamba].

- (5.14) a. *Nyamba jiminiki-rni? Jiminiki-rni darrangku ngaba-nya-ju.*
 what this(n)-FOC this(n)-FOC tree have-2sg-do
 'What's that? That's a tree you have there.'
- b. *Nyamba jimi-rna marrinjku-nu?*
 what that(n)-FOC word-did
 'What's that word there?'

- c. *Nyamba nyamarni manjku?*
 what 2sg.ERG skin.name
 'What skin are you?'

With the Locative suffix /-mbili/, *nyamba* asks either 'where' (5.15a) or 'by what means' (5.15b). The Locative is discussed in §5.3.3.2.1.

- (5.15) a. *Nyamba-mbili-kaji mankiyi-mindi-ju?*
 what-LOC-through sit-1dl.Inc-do
 'Where are we sitting?'
 b. *Nyamba-mbili-kaji nya-rriyi-rni?*
 what-LOC-through 2sg-will.go-FOC
 'How will you go?'

With either the Ablative /-ngkami/ (5.16a) or the Dative /-rna/ (5.16b–c) suffix, *nyamba* asks 'why', 'for what reason'. The Ablative suffix is discussed in §5.3.3.2.1, and the Dative in §5.3.3.1.2.

- (5.16) a. *Nginda-rni milyamilya ya-nu. Nyambala maya-nganja-ana-ju,*
 DEM(m)-FOC late 3sg-did DEM(n) hit-2sg.SIO-IO-do

nyamba-ngkami?
 what-ABL
 'He was late. Is that why you hit us?'

- b. *Nyamba-rna-kaji ngurru-wa nyindi-ma ngaba-ngka?*
 what-DAT-through 1pl.Inc-will.go DEM(m)-EMPH have-ALL?
 'What are we going over there for?'
 c. *Nyamba-rna arrkuja-nga-nku-ju?*
 what-DAT scratch-1sg-REFL-do
 'Why are you scratching?'

With the Instrumental suffix /-arndi/, *nyamba* asks 'how' or 'by what means' (5.17). The Instrumental suffix is discussed in §5.3.3.2.2.

- (5.17) *Nyamba-arndi-kaji nya-rriyi-rni?*
 what-INST-through 2sg-will.go-FOC
 'How will you go?'

5.1.4.1.2 (W)aja questions

On its own, (w)aja is used to ask 'what' (5.18a), 'who' (5.18b), or 'which' (5.18c).

- (5.18) a. *Waja nyamarni liyijku-nu?*
 what 2sg.ERG name-did
 'What's your name?'
 b. *Aji-rni ngaja-nu?*
 what-ERG see-did
 'Who was looking?'
 c. *Bibuwalardi waja-nu?*
 son what-did
 'Which/who is your son?'

When *(w)aja* bears the suffix */-wa(ra)/*, probably derived from the core verb */-wa/* 'will go' (see §6.2.1), it asks 'where', 'whither', or 'to where':

- (5.19) a. *Aju-wa ila-nga-nu ngarru bundurru-nu?*
 where put-1sg-did 1sg.ACC food-did
 'Where did I put my food?'
 b. *Aju-wa ngurru-wa?*
 whither 1pl.Inc-will.go
 'Where shall we go?'
 c. *Aju-wara kunyu-wardu kunyiyila-rni*
 whither 2dl-go 2dl.NOM-FOC
 'Which way are you two going?'

When *(w)aju-wa(ra)* is further inflected with the Ablative suffix */-ngkami/*, it asks 'whence' or 'where from':

- (5.20) a. *Ajuwa-ngkami nyama-rni?*
 where-ABL 2sg-FOC
 'Where are you from?'
 b. *Bininja-ala, ajuwara-ngkami wurra-miki?*
 man-pl where-ABL 3pl-came
 'The men, where did they come from?'

With both */-rni/* and then Locative */-mbili/* marking suffixed to it, *(w)aja* means 'who with' or 'what with':

- (5.21) a. *Aji-rni-mbili ya-miki jama-rni-ma?*
 what.with 3sg-came that-FOC-EMPH
 'Who/what did he bring?'

- b. **Waji-rni-mbili** *ya-jiyimi jamaniki-rni Jiminginja-rni?*
 what.with 3sg-come this(m)-FOC skin.name-FOC
 'Who is Jiminginja coming up here with?'

The /-rni/ that appears on (*w*)*aja* in the examples in (5.21) is neither Ergative nor Focus marking, though it is homophonous with both. Its appearance in this word does not appear to have a morphological or semantic rationale.

The word (*w*)*ajajika* asks 'how far' (5.22). The suffix /-jika/ is not productive, and is only found on this word.

- (522) a. **Ajajika-nama** *mindu-wa?*
 how.far-time 1dl.Inc-will.go
 'How far are we going?' OR 'How long are we going for?'
- b. **Ajajika** *wurra-miki-rni?*
 how.far 3pl-came-FOC
 'How far did they come?'

(*W*)*ajinbaja* asks 'when' (5.23). Once again, while the word is based on (*w*)*aja*, it is not formed by addition of a productive suffix, but appears to be an idiosyncratic form.

- (523) a. **Ajinbaja** *wurra-miki-rni?*
 when 3pl-came-FOC
 'When did they leave to come here?'
- b. **Ajinbaja** *ngirra-ma-nya-yi, kirda?*
 when make-2sg-FUT father
 'When are you going to make it, Dad?'
- c. **Ajinbaja** *ngurri-yi barungku-nu?*
 when 1pl.Inc-FUT hot.weather-did
 'When will we have some of that hot weather?'

5.1.4.1.3 (*W*)*ani* questions

There is no interrogative word consisting of (*w*)*ani* without inflection. However, the interrogative word *jani*, meaning 'how' or 'how much' is probably cognate with the (*w*)*ani*-interrogatives:

- (524) a. **Jani** *nya-ju jalyangkunu?*
 how 2sg-do today
 'How are you today?'

- b. *Jani warak ngali nya-rriyi?*
 how.much work 2sg-will.go
 'How long will you work?'

Jani is also used, as discussed in §5.1.4.2, to form yes/no questions. There are several interrogatives that appear to be build around /(w)an-/, but the elements which suffix to /(w)an-/ are not productive suffixes of Jingulu. (W)*ani* plus /-ku/, for instance, asks 'how':

- (525) a. *Anuku ila-nga-yi jiminiki?*
 how put-1sg-FUT this(n)
 'How shall I do that?'
- b. *Anuku wurra-miki-rni?*
 how 3pl-came-FOC
 'How did they get here?'
- c. *Anuku-kaji nyu-rriyi nginda Warranganku-ngka-rni?*
 how-through 2sg-will.go that(m) Beetaloo-ALL-FOC
 'How will you get to Beetaloo?'

It is possible that this /-ku/ is cognate with the ubiquitous Australian Dative affix /-ku/. The semantics of 'how' could certainly support the analysis, though /what+DAT/ more typically means 'why' (see (5.16) above). The major problem with this analysis, synchronically at least, is that the Jingulu Dative marker, discussed in §5.3.3.1.2, is not /-ku/, but /-rna/.

The interrogative verbal root (w)*anikiy-* is used to ask 'do what':

- (526) a. *Anikiyi-mindi-yi? Lurrbu mindu-wa ngawu-ngka.*
 do.what-1dl.Inc-FUT return 1dl.Inc-will.go home-ALL
 'What are we going to do? Go back home.'
- b. *Anikiya-nya-ju kirda?*
 do.what-2sg-do father
 'What are you doing, Dad?'
- c. *Anikiya-nga-ju? Mujkiya-nga-ju!*
 do.what-1sg-do forget-1sg-do
 'What am I doing? I've forgotten!'
- d. *Anikiya-wurru-ju nginda-baja-rni, banybala-rni?*
 do.what-3pl-do that(m)-pl-ERG, mob-FOC
 'What is that mob up to?'

(W)*aningkili* asks 'how many' or 'how much':

- (527) a. *Aningkiliji wunya-nga-yi? Jana-yi?*
 how.many give-1sg-FUT how-FUT
 'How many of those will you give me? How much?'
 b. *Aningkiliji maja-nya-nu?*
 how.many get-2sg-did
 'How many did you get?'

Finally (*w*)*anikirrkiji* asks 'what sort', 'what kind', 'what type' (5.28). Being a modifier, this interrogative has different forms depending on the gender of the modified element: masculine (*w*)*anikirrkiji*, feminine (*w*)*anikirrkijirni*, neuter (*w*)*anikarrkaru*, and vegetable (*w*)*anikirrkidbi*.

- (528) a. *Anikirrkiji nganga-rni jamaniki-rni maya-nya-nu?*
 what.sort(m) meat this(m)-FOC kill-2sg-did
 'What kind of animal did you kill?'
 b. *Anikirrkijirni nayurni ngina-rni?*
 what.sort(f) woman that(f)-FOC
 'What sort of woman is that?'
 c. *Anikarrkaru jimi-rni darrangku-nu?*
 what.sort(n) this-FOC tree-did?
 'What kind of tree is that?'
 d. *Anikirrkidbi ngima-niki-rni?*
 what.sort(v) this(v)-FOC
 'What kind (of vegetable) is that?'

5.1.4.2 When simple 'yes' or 'no' will do

As explained in §4.1.4.1, a statement may be turned into a yes/no question by way of the question word *jani*:

- (529) a. *Jani nya-rriyi ngirriki? Kiwirra, mankiya-nga-yi?*
 Q 2sg-will.go hunting nothing sit-1sg-FUT
 'Do you want to go hunting? No, I'll stay here.'
 b. *Jani lankaj bila-nganja-na-ju?*
 Q hear-1sg-2sgS.1O-1O-do
 'Can you hear me?'

- c. *Ngini-rni* *ngurrkuwa-nga-ju*, *ngunya* *ngarnu* *jana-yi?*
 DEM(n)-FOC want-1sg-do give 3sg.ACC.m Q-FUT
 'I want that one, can you give it over?'

Jani can also be used to ask 'how', or 'how much' (see (5.24) in §5.1.4.1.3).

5.2 Pronouns

Free pronouns are never obligatory but are often used when the verb morphology is ambiguous, for emphasis, or for contrastive focus. Free pronouns appear in about one fifth of the sentences collected. Ergative forms (§5.2.2) are generally derived from Nominative forms (§5.2.1) by the ERG suffix */-rni/*, or optionally */-nga/* if the referent is female, though some suppletive forms also occur. Accusative and Genitive pronouns (§5.2.3) derive from the same root, the ACC pronouns all ending in */u/* and the GEN form obtained by adding a suffix which agrees in gender with the possessed object.

Jingulu also has some third person object (ACC) and possessor (GEN) pronouns distinct from demonstratives. There appear to be no transitive subject (ERG) forms of third person pronouns, as noted by Chadwick (1975), and intransitive subject (NOM) forms are very rare, demonstratives being preferred in these cases (if an overt NP is used at all).

Number features are discussed in detail in §5.3.2, but a word is in order here about inclusive/exclusive distinctions in first person pronouns. This distinction is common among Australian languages, and consists of distinct forms for first person non-singular pronouns depending on whether the addressee(s) is (are) included in the reference set of the pronoun. Thus, if the speaker and hearer are involved in an action/event, the first person dual inclusive *mindiyila* is used, but if it is the speaker and one other person (not the hearer), the exclusive *nginyiyila* is used. The sentence in (5.30a) shows how a first person singular pronoun and a second person singular pronoun, both linked to subject position, give rise to first person dual inclusive agreement in the verb word, while (5.30b) shows how a first person singular pronoun and a third person nominal both linked to subject position give rise to first person dual exclusive agreement.

- (530) a. *Kanbakanba* *ngirrmi-mindu-ju*: *nyamirni* *ngirrma-nya-ju*, *ngayirni*
 together make-1dl.Inc-do 2sg.ERG make-2sg-do 1sg.ERG

ngirrma-nga-ju.

make-1sg-do

'We make it together: you make it and I make it.'

- b. *Ngarri-na* *baba* *ngaya* *dirikirri-nginyu-ju* *kirda-rna*.
 1sg.GEN-m older.brother 1sg.NOM wait-1dl.Exc-do father-DAT
 'My older brother and I are waiting for Dad.'

Similarly, if a group of three or more people includes both speaker and hearer, the first person plural inclusive pronoun forms are used, but if the group includes the speaker but not the hearer, the first person plural exclusive forms are used.

5.2.1 Nominative pronouns

Nominative pronouns are used to refer to subjects of intransitive clauses, or in dislocation. Nominative is the default case for pronominals, so that a pronoun occurring in a position not associated with overt case, such as in dislocation constructions or in one-word answers (see §4.1.1), will be Nominative. The paradigm of NOM pronouns is given in Table 5.2 and examples of these pronouns in use in (5.31).

Table 5.2: Nominative pronouns

	singular	dual	plural
1st inclusive	–	<i>mindiyila</i>	<i>ngurrawala</i>
1st exclusive	<i>ngaya</i>	<i>nginyiyila</i>	<i>ngirriwala</i> <i>ngirriyala</i>
2nd	<i>nyama</i>	<i>kunyyiyila</i> <i>kunyuwurlu</i>	<i>kurrawala</i>
3rd	–	<i>wanyikila</i>	–

- (531) a. 'Akardarda *ngaya*' *Jingulu ambaya-nga-ju.*
 poor.fellow 1sg.NOM Jingulu speak-1sg-do
 'I say "Poor bugger me" in Jingulu.'
- b. *Milyamilyayi-nya-nu nyama.*
 late-2sg-did 2sg.NOM
 'You were late.'
- c. *Mindiyila imbiyi-mindi-ju Jingulu.*
 1dl.Inc.NOM speak-1dl.Inc-do Jingulu
 'We two are speaking Jingulu.'
- d. *Nginyiyila jangkarni mankiyi-nginyu-ju bininja.*
 1dl.Exc.NOM one sit-1dl.Exc-do man
 'Another man and I are sitting down.'

- e. *Arduwa-nama kunyiyila langalanga-nya-mi.*
 slow-time 2dl.NOM think-2sg-IRR
 'Just think about it first (you two).'
- f. *Jama-bila-rni wanyikila kijikijibi-wunyu-nku-ju.*
 that-dl.anim-FOC 3dl.NOM tickle-3dl-REFL-do
 'Those two are tickling each other.'
- g. *Dardu-wala ngiji-ngurru-nu ngardajkalu, burrbiji ngurrawala.*
 many-pl see-1pl.Inc-did big(n) finish 1pl.Inc.NOM
 'We (inclusive) saw all of us.' [context: in a photograph]
- h. *Nginaniki-rni kiwirra angkurla dajba-nu, ngirriyala*
 this(f)-FOC none NEG bite-did 1pl.Exc.NOM

dajba-ni-ngirru-nu.
 bite-INV-1pl.Exc-did
 'This one (you) was not bitten, only us.'
- i. *Ulukaja-ngku kurruwala!*
 wash-will.come 2pl.NOM
 'You three wash yourselves!'

5.2.2 Ergative pronouns

Ergative pronouns are used to refer to the subject of a transitive clause or the subject of a predicate that is a noun (see §4.1.2.1 for discussion of nouns as predicates). Ergative pronouns are composed, for the most part, of Nominative pronouns with the ERG suffix /-rni/, although some of the more marked forms of NOM pronouns, such as the second person dual *kunyuwurlu* are not found with ERG suffixes. There are no third person ERG pronouns, demonstratives being used instead. The paradigm for Ergative pronouns is given in Table 5.3, with examples in (5.32).

Table 5.3: Ergative pronouns

	singular	dual	plural
1st inclusive	–	<i>mindiyilirni</i>	<i>ngurrawalarni</i> <i>ngurraalarni</i>
1st exclusive	<i>ngayarni</i> <i>ngayirni</i>	<i>nginyiyilirni</i>	<i>ngirrikarni</i> <i>ngirriyalarni</i>
2nd	<i>nyamarni</i> <i>nyamirni</i>	<i>kunyyilirni</i>	<i>kurrawalarni</i>

/-rni/ can optionally be replaced by /-nga/ for feminine pronouns, though this is unusual.

- (532) a. *Ngayirni binjama-nga-ju babirdimi.*
1sg.ERG grow-1sg-do yam
'I grow potatoes.'
- b. *Nganya-nga-nku-ju nganku ngayarni, nyamirni nangki-mi kurrubardu.*
sing-1sg-REFL-do 2sg.ACC 1sg.ERG 2sg.ERG chop-IRR boomerang
'I'm singing to us while you cut a boomerang.'
- c. *Mindiyilirni ngirrmi-mindi-yi, kanbakanba ngirrmi-mindi-yi.*
1dl.Inc.ERG make-1dl.Inc-FUT together make-1dl.Inc-FUT
'You and I will make it together.'
- d. *Miyi-nginyu-nu nginyiyilirni wardabanmarra.*
kill-1dl.Exc-did 1dl.Exc.ERG male.kangaroo
'We two killed a big red roo.'
- e. *Kunyyilirni ngirrma-ana-mi buba yabanju!*
2dl.ERG make-1O-IRR fire small(n)
'You two make me a little fire!'
- f. *Ngardajkalu ngiji-ngirru-nu dardu-wala ngurraalarni ngiji-ngirru-nu*
big(n) see-1pl.Exc-did many-pl 1pl.Inc.ERG see-1pl.Inc-did
burrbiyi.
finish
'All of us saw you, even you did eventually.' [context: in a photograph]

- g. *Dunji-nginyu-nu-rra, ngirrakarni-rni dunji-nginyu-nu*
 kiss-1plS.3plO-did-RRA 1pl.Exc.ERG-FOC kiss-1plS.2plO-did

nyinda-bala.

that(m)-pl.anim

'We kissed those people.'

- h. *Nginda ngina nayurni ngiju-kurru-nyu-nu kurrawalarni.*
 that(m) that(f) woman see-2pl-2O-did 2pl.ERG

'You mob saw you two women.'

[context: in a photograph]

5.2.3 Accusative and Genitive pronouns

With the exception of the third person singular forms, Accusative and Genitive (possessive) pronouns are built on the same root, which differs from the root upon which Nominative the Ergative pronouns are built. The Accusative/genitive root forms are given in Table 5.4. Note that there is a full set of third person ACC/GEN pronouns (recall from Table 5.2 that the NOM paradigm is defective for third person and from Table 5.3 that there are no third person ERG pronouns at all).

Table 5.4: Accusative/Genitive stems

	singular	dual	plural
1st inclusive	–	<i>mindak-</i>	<i>ngurrak-</i>
1st exclusive	<i>ngarr-</i>	<i>nginyak-</i>	<i>ngirrak-</i>
2nd	<i>ngaank-</i> <i>ngank-</i>	<i>kunyak-</i>	<i>kurrak-</i>
3rd	ACC: <i>ngarnu</i> (m) <i>ngayi</i> (f) GEN: <i>niyi-</i>	<i>wunyak-</i>	<i>wurrak-</i> <i>nyurrak-</i>

Accusative pronouns, used to refer to the (direct or indirect) object of a transitive clause or the beneficiary of an action, are formed by suffixation of /-u/ to the root:

- (533) a. *Angkula lankaj-nga-ju ngarru.*
 NEG hear-1sg-do 1sg.ACC
 'You're not listening to me.'

- b. *Angkurla larringka-nga-ju nganku.*
 NEG understand-1sg-do 2sg.ACC
 'I didn't understand you.'
- c. *Ibilka biji-yirri ngarnu, bibi!*
 drink act-go.IMPV 3sg.ACC.m son.VOC
 'Get him a drink, son!'
- d. *Ngunja-umbuma-kaji ngirri-marriyimi ngayi.*
 burn-cook-through 1pl.Exc-DIST 3sg.ACC.f
 'Then we'd cook it [echidna] up.'
 [NB: the word for 'echidna' is invariably feminine]
- e. *Nginda-bili-rni ngiju-wunya-ana-nu mindaku.*
 that(m)-dl.anim-ERG see-3dl-1O-did 1dl.Inc.ACC
 'Those two saw me and you.'
- f. *Ama-rnana-nu nginyaku, Jangala, ngaya.*
 rub-3sgS.1O-did 1dl.Exc.ACC skin.name 1sg.NOM²
 'He rubbed Jangala and me.'
- g. *Ngalarra-nga-ju kunyaku.*
 yell-1sg-do 2dl.ACC
 'I'm yelling out to you two.'
- h. *Bajka-nga-rriyi jama-bila-rna bininja-yila wunyaku*
 track-1sg-will.go that(m)-dl.anim-DAT man-dl 3dl.ACC

kujarribila-rni.
 two(m)-FOC
 'I'll track those two people.'
- i. *Jama-baja-rna wurru-ngku ngurraku bajkajka*
 that(m)-pl-FOC 3pl-will.come 1pl.Inc.ACC tell(RED)

ngirribiji-wurra-ana-yi ngurraku marrinju.
 tell-3plS.1O-FUT 1pl.Inc.ACC story
 'Those people are coming to tell us a story.'

² Note that the first person singular pronoun here appears in the NOM form, not the ACC, even though it is construed with one of the referents that makes up the object. This is because the pronoun has been right-dislocated in this sentence and dislocated nominals, as discussed in §5.2.1 and §4.1.1, appear in their NOM form.

- j. *Ngiji-winyu-nu ngiji-warna-nu ngirraku ngaya*
 see-3dl-did see-3sgS.1O-did 1pl.Exc.ACC 1sg.NOM

ngunu-mbili-kaji.

DEM(n)-LOC-through

'Those two saw me and him over there.'

- k. *Dunji-nginyu-nu kurraku, nyama-rni, Jabarda,*
 kiss-1plS.2plO-did 2pl.ACC 2sg.NOM-FOC skin.name

nginda-baja jangki-baja.

DEM-pl another-pl

'We even kissed you, Jabarda, and that other fellow.'

- l. *Kajirrima-nga-rriyi wurraku wawa-la.*
 pick.up-1sg-will.go 3pl.ACC child-pl
 'I'll bring the kids home.'

The Kuwarrangu dialect uses ACC pronouns to refer to possessors as well as to objects:

- (534) a. *Aja ngawu-nu ngarru?*
 where home-did 1sg.ACC
 'Where is my home?'
 b. *Jamaniki-rni karung bili-kaji ya-ju, ankila ngaanku.*
 this(m)-FOC marry-through 3sg-do cousin 2sg.ACC
 'He's married, your cousin'.
 c. *Ngawu-nu ngarnu lamalu-mbili, darrangku-mbili, darrangku lamalu.*
 home-did 3sg.ACC.m hollow-LOC tree-LOC tree hollow
 'Its home is in hollow logs, in trees, hollow logs.'

The Warranganku dialect, on the other hand, has a separate set of Genitive pronouns, used to refer to a possessor, formed by adding a linking vowel and a gender agreement suffix to the root so that the pronouns agrees in gender with the possessum. If the possessum is masculine the Genitive pronoun ends in /-na/ (5.35), if feminine /-rnini/ (5.36)³, if neuter /-nu/ (5.37), and if vegetable gender the Genitive pronoun ends in /-rnimi/ (5.38) (these are subject to gender neutralisation as any nominals are, see §5.3.1.3 for details). The feminine and vegetable Genitive suffixes do not cause harmony (see §2.4 for a discussion of harmony), probably because the characteristic gender

³ Optionally, though very rarely, the form /-ninga/ appears, which is similar to the regular feminine ERG/DAT suffix /-nga/ (§5.3.3.1). This form is shown in (5.39b).

endings are separated from the root by the filler [-rni-], which only occurs with these forms of the Genitive.

- (535) a. *Jama-rni-ma wawa kurlukurla ngarri-na kula.*
 that(m)-FOC-EMPH child small(m) 1sg.GEN-m nephew
 'That little boy is my nephew.'
- b. *Bij bila-nya-ju walu ambaya-ju ngaanku-na kuka.*
 twitch-2sg-do forehead speak-do 2sg.GEN-m grandpa
 'If your forehead's twitching your grandpa must be thinking of you.'
- c. *Jama-rni niyi-na wawa.*
 that(m)-ERG 3sg.GEN-m child
 'That's his boy.'
- d. *Nginda-rni ya-jiyimi mindaki-na barnanga.*
 that(m)-FOC 3sg-come 1dl.Inc.GEN-m father
 'Here comes our dad.'
- e. *Nginyaki-na kunyarrba nginda-rni.*
 1dl.Exc.GEN-m dog that(m)-ERG
 'That dog belongs to us two (not you).'
- f. *Warlaku kunyaki-na jama-rni.*
 dog 2dl.GEN-m that(m)-ERG
 'That dog belongs to you two.'
- g. *Wunyaku-na biba ya-jiyimi.*
 3dl.GEN-m son 3sg-come
 'Their son is approaching.'
- h. *Ngurraki-na kirda marliya-ju.*
 1pl.Inc.GEN-m father sick-do
 'Our father is sick.'
- i. *Jamaniki-rni ngirraki-na.*
 this(m)-ERG 1pl.Exc.GEN-m
 'This is ours.'
- j. *Kurraki-na jama-rni wawa-rni.*
 2pl.GEN-m that(m)-ERG child-ERG
 'That child belongs to you lot.'

- k. *Wurraki-na wawa ngaja-nu.*
3pl.GEN-m child see-did
'He saw their child.'
- (536) a. *Ngarri-rnini nayuni wirniyikirni.*
1sg.GEN-f woman foreign(f)
'My wife is foreign.'
- b. *Waji-rni nganki-rnini kabinjukulirni?*
who-FOC 2sg.GEN-f wife
'Who is your wife?'
- c. *Ngaja-nga-ju niyi-rnini nayurni.*
see-1sg-do 3sg.GEN-f woman
'I can see his wife.'
- d. *Mindaki-rnini wiwi-rni angkula manyan ya-ju.*
1dl.Inc.GEN-f child-f NEG sleep 3sg-do
'Our girl is not asleep.'
- e. *Ngunyi-nginyi-yi nginyaki-rnini bibirni.*
give-1dl.Exc-FUT 1dl.Exc.GEN-f daughter
'We'll give you our daughter [in marriage].'
- f. *Minjili-rni kunyaki-rnini nguka-ju.*
baby-f 2dl.GEN-f cry-do
'Your baby girl is crying.'
- g. *Lilirni wunyaki-rnini kandirri wumbuma-ka.*
aunt 3dl.GEN-f bread cook-PST.HAB
'Their aunt used to make bread.'
- h. *Ngina-rni ankilirni ngurraki-rnini.*
that(f)-ERG cousin(f) 1pl.Inc.GEN-f
'That's our (female) cousin.'
- i. *Ngirraki-rnini ankilirni ngina-rni, angkula nganki-rnini.*
1pl.Exc.GEN-f cousin(f) that(f)-ERG NEG 2sg.GEN-f
'She's our cousin, not yours.'
- j. *Kurraki-rnini kunyirrbirni ngarda-mu.*
2pl.GEN-f dog(f) give.birth-did
'Your dog had puppies.'

- k. *Wurraki-rnini lilirni nganya-ju.*
 3pl.GEN-f aunt sing-do
 'Their aunt is singing (to them).'
- (537) a. *Ngarru-nu nginya-rruku kirda-rna ngawu-nu.*
 1sg.GEN-n 1dl.Exc-went father-DAT home-did
 'We went through my father's country.'
- b. *Jimi-baju-rna nganku-nu ka-ju ngawu.*
 this-pl-FOC 2sg.GEN-n 3sg-do home
 'These are all for your home.'
- c. *Jimi-rni jawalanya niyi-nu.*
 this-ERG thing 3sg.GEN-n
 'That's his thing.'
- d. *Ngininiki-rni kirdji ya-nu, murdika-rni mindaku-nu.*
 this(n)-FOC break 3sg-did car-FOC 1dl.Inc.GEN-n
 'Our car's broken.'
- e. *Nyini-baja-rni jawaranya nginyaku-nu jami-rna.*
 that(n)-pl-ERG thing 1dl.Exc.GEN-n that(m)-FOC
 'Those things are ours.'
- f. *Kunyaku-nu marru ngardajkalu.*
 2dl.GEN-n house big(n)
 'Your house is big.'
- g. *Kujkarrarni walanja ngaja-ardu. Karrila. Ngawu wunyak-nu.*
 two goanna see-go leave.it home 3dl.GEN-n
 'We saw two goannas, but we left them alone, and we saw their hole.'
- h. *Marru ngurraku-nu angkula irrk bila-ju.*
 house 1pl.Inc.GEN-n NEG paint-do
 'Our house is not painted.'
- i. *Ngandayi-mbili mankiyi-ngurri-wa ngawu-ngka ngirraku-nu-ngka.*
 shade-LOC sit-1pl.Inc-will.go home-ALL 1dl.Exc.GEN-n-ALL
 'We'll all go sit in the shade at our place.'
- j. *Buba-arndi kurraku-nu marru umbuma-kaji ya-nu.*
 fire-INST 2pl.GEN-n house burn-through 3sg-did
 'Your house burned right down.'

- k. *Ngawu-nu wurraku-nu Ijibarda.*
 home-did 3pl.GEN-n Longreach
 'Longreach is their place.'

- (538) a. *Ngima-rna kandirri-rni ngaba-nga-yi ngarri-rnimi, angkula*
 that(v)-FOC damper-FOC have-1sg-FUT 1sg.GEN-v NEG

ngunya-nga-yi kiwirra.
 give-1sg-FUT none
 'I'm keeping all my damper, not giving any away.'

- b. *Ngaanki-rnimi ngunya-ana-mi babirdimi kurlukurlimi!*
 2sg.GEN-v give-1O-IRR yam small(v)
 'Give me your little yam!'

- c. *Kanya ngarri-na ya-rriyi niyi-rnimi-warndi karnarrinyimi-warndi.*
 uncle 1sg.GEN-m 3sg-will.go 3sg.GEN-v-INST spear-INST
 'My uncle will go hunting with his (own) spear.'

- d. *Maami wumbumi-mindu-wa mindaki-rnimi, dirri-mindi-yi.*
 vegetable.food cook-1dl.Inc-will.go 1dl.Inc.GEN-v eat-1dl.Inc-FUT
 'You and I should go and cook our vegetables so we can eat them.'

- e. *Kandirri nginyaki-rnimi dardu ngunya-nginyi-nu.*
 damper 1dl.Exc.GEN-v much give-1S.2O-did
 'We gave you lots of our damper.'

- f. *Kunyaki-rnimi darra-mi, babirdimi!*
 2dl.GEN-v eat-IRR yam
 'Eat your yams!'

- g. *Karnarinymi wunyaki-rnimi ngirriki-wunyi-rruku.*
 spear 3dl.GEN-v hunt-3dl-went
 'Those two went hunting with their own spears.'

- h. *Miji-ngurri-yi ngurraki-rnimi maami, ngawu-ngka*
 get-1pl.Inc-FUT 1pl.Inc.GEN-v vegetable.food home-ALL

ngurru-wa.
 1pl.Inc-will.go
 'We'd best get our food and go home.'

- i. *Dabili-ngirri-ju karnarinymi ngirraki-rnimi, arduku winymi-ngirr-ardu.*
 hold-1pl.Exc-do spear 1pl.Exc.GEN-v careful walk-1pl.Exc-go
 'Holding onto our spears, we walk about cautiously.'

- j. *Ngima-rni babidimi kurraki-rnini.*
 that(v)-ERG yam 2pl.GEN-v
 'That yam belongs to you all.'
- k. *Wurraki-rnini babirdimi dirri-mindu-nu.*
 3pl.GEN-v yam eat-1dl.Inc-did
 'You and I ate their yams.'

Genitive pronouns can be thought of as being nominals and able to form NPs in their own right, rather than modifying heads. As NPs, they have interpretations such as (mine, your one etc.). Like free nominals, Genitive pronouns inflect for nominal characteristics of the possessed item, such as number (5.39) and case (5.37i, 5.38c, 5.39b).

- (5.39) a. *Ngarri-ni-baju babawurri-rni.*
 1sg.GEN-f-pl older.siblings-FOC
 'They're all my big brothers and sisters.'
- b. *Ngarri-ninga jakardi-nga, ankili-yila ngarri-ni-bila*
 1sg.GEN-DAT.f mother-DAT.f cousin-dl 1sg.GEN-m-dl
jama-bila-rni-rni.
 that(m)-dl-ERG-FOC
 'Those two are my cousins, on my mother's side'

Note the appearance of the rare feminine /-ninga/ GEN ending in (5.39b). This is discussed in footnote 3.

5.3 Nominal features

This section deals with the marking of syntactic features of gender (§5.3.1), number (§5.3.2) and case and discourse (pragmatic) prominence (§5.3.3). Gender marking is the overt expression of the nominal head (discussed in Chapter 3, particularly §3.1.1) on free nominals and is present in all free nominals. Number marking is generally optional (other than on pronouns), while the presence of case marking depends on syntactic configuration and status as a subject, object, or adjunct. Where a nominal is marked for both gender and number, gender marking precedes number marking. Case follows gender (and number if present), and discourse markers follow all other suffixes.

5.3.1 Gender

5.3.1.1 Genders and gender morphology

Jingulu has four genders, which I shall call masculine (m), feminine (f), neuter (n), and vegetable (v). The names for these genders follow Chadwick (1975) and are named for much the same reason as gender in Romance languages. Masculine is the gender that includes most nouns referring to male animates, feminine includes most nouns referring to female animates, vegetable is a gender consisting largely of words for edible plants, while neuter is the gender that is not any of the other three (and neuter words are typically inanimate). Gender is not, however, entirely predictable from the above criteria. For instance, many edible plants are found in the neuter gender, many objects which are clearly not vegetables are found in the vegetable gender, and some of the things that show up in the masculine and feminine genders might be surprising if we expected the gender classifications 'masculine' and 'feminine' to equate to biologically 'male' and 'female'. 'Gender', as Pinker (1994) points out, was used to mean 'class' or 'type' long before it took on the meaning of 'sex'. In fact, among sociologists, 'gender' is distinct from 'sex' in that the former is socially constructed while the latter is biologically determined.

Jingulu genders exhibit a few properties of nominal classifying systems and not just gender systems (as typified by Romance languages), so that to some extent the gender of a nominal is dependent on its semantic function as well as, or even despite, its phonological form. For example, while words for people and higher animates have different and predictable phonological forms for male and female referents (e.g. *kunyarrba* 'dog', *kunyirrbirni* 'bitch'), and words for lower animates have fixed genders irrespective of the sex of their referent (e.g. *junma* (masculine) "'left-hand" wallaby'), there are a small number of words which can be either masculine or feminine (as distinguished by the gender of agreeing adjectives and demonstratives) depending on the sex of the referent without changing their phonological form (e.g. *nginda jakulakji* 'that male possum', *ngina jakulakji* 'that female possum', similarly *kirninginjirni* 'emu'). Then there is the curious case of the word *damangka*, which is neuter in gender when it means 'head', but of vegetable gender when it refers to a kind of yam. This latter case is reminiscent of nominal classification systems like those of Murrinhpatha, where the class of a word is dependent on the use or function of the referent in context. In Murrinhpatha, 'cat' can be in different classes depending whether it is treated as an animal (*ku yirrthip*), an object (*nanthi yirrthip*), or a projectile (*thu yirrthip*), while 'flour' can be in different classes depending on whether it is from a packet (*nanthi lawam*) or home-ground (*mi lawam*) (data from Michael Walsh, pers. comm.). In general, however, Jingulu noun classification more closely resembles the gender systems of Romance languages than noun-classifying systems like those of Murrinhpatha, Japanese, or Vietnamese.

Approximately nine per cent of Jingulu nominals with unchanging gender are of vegetable gender, while about thirteen per cent are feminine. The rest are almost evenly divided between masculine and neuter.

Rather than calling the classes genders, we might say that Jingulu has four morphological types of nominals, and we could call them I, II, III and IV, or A, B, C and D, or any arbitrary choice of four labels. However, as is the case in most languages with gender systems, Jingulu places words for men and women in different categories, and one of the other genders (vegetable) corresponds for the most part to a coherent class of entities. I choose to follow Chadwick in using the names 'masculine, feminine, vegetable and neuter' as these provide more information about the gender than any of these other options would.

The easiest class to characterise is the smallest, and apparently most marked, the vegetable class. This class is occupied mostly by objects that are long and thin or pointed, or are sharp, which happens to include a lot of vegetables, but also body parts such as colon, penis, tail, neck, umbilical cord and chin; instruments such as spears, didgeridoos, fire-drills, shields, and barbed wire; phenomena such as lightning and rainbows; and features like roads, gullies and trenches. Some plant food that is not of this shape, such as acacia gum and berries, are in this class (though most are neuter), and there are some unusual entries such as the words for war and the ceremonial ring.

The next smallest and specialised class is the feminine, which aside from words for female higher animates includes words for axes of all sorts, the sun, most smaller songbirds, stinging insects, and some of the more 'unusual' animals including echidnas, flightless birds, crabs, scorpions, turtles, and catfish. These animals can be considered 'unusual' because they are atypical of their general type—birds which do not fly, aquatic animals with shells, and so forth.

The two remaining classes are the most general, with the masculine being used for most other animates and neuter for inanimates. Exceptions to this are that flat and/or rounded inanimates tend to be masculine, including many round-canopied trees, the moon, shadows, swamps (with water), grindstones, eggs, rounded spear throwers, boomerangs, coolamons, and things made of glass. Also body parts that are flat, such as liver, brow and vagina, are masculine.

The neuter gender includes all words for dwellings, materials, sticks and stones, instruments and body and plant parts that do not fall into other gender classes on the basis of shape properties, as well as most abstract concepts and entities.

Each gender has a characteristic ending, which means that nominals bearing inherent gender have a tendency to display a particular ending in the nominative case. Some discussion of this is found in §2.4.2.1 and §3.1.1. For masculine nominals this ending is /-a/, though there is a sizeable class of consonant-final masculine nouns, too (5.40a). Feminine nominals generally end in /C_[coronal]i/ ([-ni], [-rni], [-di] or [-rdi]), as in (5.40b). Feminine skin names and the word for female body show a different yet regular feminine morphology, trading the initial /j/ and final /a/ of their masculine counterpart nouns for an initial /n/ and a final /u/ (5.40b). The characteristic ending for neuter nominals is /-u/ (5.40c), and for vegetable nominals /C_[labial]i/ (realised as [-mi] or [-bi], as in (5.40d)).

(540) a. masculine:	<i>yarrilinja</i> 'sand'	<i>kiyinarra</i> 'vagina, vulva'
	<i>jamankula</i> 'blanket lizard'	<i>jabarrka</i> 'liver'
	<i>jambilija</i> 'body (male)'	<i>Jangalinginja</i> skin name (male)
	(w)ururr 'cousin-in-law'	<i>yarrulan</i> 'youth'
exceptions:	<i>darndiyi</i> 'rat'	<i>wajirru</i> 'praying mantis'
b. feminine:	<i>lirrikbirni</i> 'cockatoo'	<i>dardawurni</i> 'axe'
	<i>kirirni</i> 'catfish'	<i>kirninginjirni</i> 'emu'
	<i>jingirdi</i> 'heart'	<i>kularnkurrurdi</i> 'dove'
	<i>nambiliju</i> 'body (female)'	<i>Nangalinginju</i> skin name (female)
exceptions:	(w)urdila 'axe'	<i>yakakak</i> 'sulphur-crested cockatoo'
c. neuter:	<i>yurru</i> 'flower, nectar'	<i>karalu</i> 'ground'
	<i>ngabarankurru</i> 'blood'	<i>burrkulyi</i> 'wild potato'
exceptions:	<i>bikirra</i> 'grass'	<i>marnkurlukurlidi</i> 'ear wax'
d. vegetable:	<i>wardbardbumi</i> 'bush passionfruit'	<i>ngijinmi</i> 'tail'
	<i>kingmi</i> 'rainbow'	(w)ukbi 'lump, swelling'

	<i>mankijbi</i> 'back of neck'	<i>milakurrmi</i> 'wild potato'
exceptions:	<i>ngurrmana</i> 'string, cotton'	<i>wilyurdku</i> 'narrow path'

The neuter gender in particular contains a large number of nominals that do not end in the characteristic [u]. Exceptional endings are rare in the smaller feminine and vegetable classes. Most feminine nominals are in fact derived from masculine nominals by way of the /-rni/ suffix (see 5.41). This head triggers harmony.

- (5.41) a. *dimana* *diminirni*
 'horse' 'mare'
- b. *wawa* *wiwirni*
 'child' 'girl'
- c. *wajbala* *wijbilirni/wijbirrini*
 'white person' 'white woman'
- d. *Warlaku-rni* *marliiyirni*, *warlaku* *karlingka*.
 dog-f female dog male
 'Female dog, male dog.'

Harmony may result in a single feminine form corresponding to two distinct masculine forms:

- (5.42) a. *biba + rni* *biba-rni* *bibirni*
 | ↘
 son + f [+hi] [+hi] 'daughter'
- b. *baba + rni* *baba-rni* *bibirni*
 ↘ ↘
 older.brother + f [+hi] 'older sister'

Harmony is discussed in detail in §2.4.

The masculine nominal can be used in place of the feminine, though this is generally not done with singular kinship terms. In (5.43) the boldfaced words *babiyurri* and *bardarda* are the masculine forms, but the context dictated a feminine interpretation.

- (5.43) a. *Ngarri-ni-bala* ***babi-yurri-mi***.
 1sg.GEN-m-pl.anim older.siblings-pl-IRR
 'They're my sisters.'

- b. *Nyina ngaanku lilirni nyamina-rna ngarnu ngaanki-ni-rna-rni*
 that(f) 2sg.GEN aunt DEM(m)-DAT 3sg.ACC.m 2sg.GEN-m-DAT-FOC
kirda-rna-rni bardarda.
 father-DAT-FOC y.sibling
 'That *lilirni* of yours is your father's little sister.'

The above is an instance of the masculine form being able to occur with referents of any gender, which is discussed in detail in §5.3.1.3.

5.3.1.2 Adjectival agreement

As mentioned in §3.1.1, adjectives are distinguished from nouns by virtue of their ability to take nominal agreement. While nouns have a fixed gender, or in the case of nouns referring to higher animates a choice of masculine or feminine gender, adjectives can be found in all genders. The word *kijurlurlu* ('rock, pebble, money'), for instance, is always neuter, while *kunyarrba* ('dog') is masculine or may appear in the feminine form *kunyrribirni*, but the word *ngamulu* ('big') may be masculine (*kunyarrba ngamula*, 'big dog'), feminine (*ngamulirni kunyrribirni*, 'big bitch'), neuter (*kijurlurlu ngamulu*, 'big stone'), or vegetable (*ngimirrikimi ngamulimi*, 'big bush banana'). Examples of adjectival agreement from texts are given in (5.44).

Gender suffixes appear on adjectives in order to make them agree in gender with the gender of their referent (5.44), with the feminine and vegetable endings triggering harmony as described in §2.4. These suffixes mimic the characteristic endings for nominals of the four genders. In §5.2.3 we saw how the endings /-na/ (masculine), /-rnini/ (feminine), /-nu/ (neuter) and /-rnimi/ (vegetable) were used to form possessive pronouns which agree with the gender of the possessed item. The gender suffixes for agreement are /a/ (masculine), /-(i)rni/ (feminine) and /-(i)mi/ (vegetable).

- (5.44) a. *Lalija darra-nga-ju jamurriyaka.*
 tea(m) eat-1sg-do cooled(m)
 'I'm drinking cold tea.'
- b. *Jama-rni jangka ya-jiyimi.*
 that(m)-FOC another(m) 3sg-come
 'Here comes another man.'
- c. *Nyamina-rni-nu bardakurrirni-kaji ya-ju.*
 DEM(f)-FOC-did good(f)-through 3sg-do
 'She's well now.'
- d. *Wijbirri-rni jalyamingkirni.*
 white.person-f new(f)
 'The white girl is new-born.'

- e. *Nyama ambaya-nya-ju Jingulu bardakurru marrinju.*
 2sg speak-2sg-do Jingulu good(n) language(n)
 'You speak the Jingulu language well.'
- f. *Jami-rna dimana-rni laja-ardu ngamulu lanbu.*
 that(m)-FOC horse-ERG carry-go big(n) load(n)
 'That horse is carrying a big load.'
- g. *Miringmi-rni darra-nga-yi bardakurrimi.*
 gum(v)-FOC eat-1sg-FUT good(v)
 'I'll eat the sweet gum.'
- h. *Jangunama nga-miji murrkunmi.*
 only 1sg-have three(v)
 'I only have three [yams].'

As (5.44b, h) show, the element being agreed with need not be present overtly in the sentence, and (5.44d) shows that agreement takes place between an adjective used as a predicate and its subject.

The neuter gender involves a null suffix. This explains both the large number of neuter forms which do not end in the characteristic [u] (noted after (5.40)), and why there is no harmony in the case of neuter nominals (see §2.4). Thus a neuter adjective is constructed as in (5.45a), a masculine adjective as in (5.45b), and a feminine adjective as in (5.45c). If the nominal head is overt, a morphophonological adjustment rule deletes the final vowel of the root.

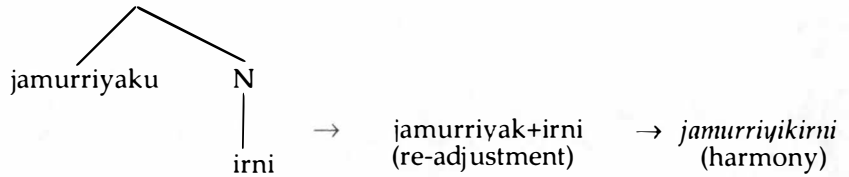
- (5.45) a.
-
- ```

 / \
 / \
jamurriyaku N
 |
 Ø

```
- *jamurriyaku*
- b.
- 
- ```

      / \
     /   \
jamurriyaku N
             |
             a
    
```
- *jamurriyak+a*
 (re-adjustment) → *jamurriyaka*

C.



In the dictionary (Pensalfini in preparation), adjectives are given in their masculine form, except where these adjectives were never found in a masculine form, in which case the neuter form is cited. The gender of the form cited is noted in the entry. The reason for giving the masculine rather than the neuter is because masculine forms are always permitted, irrespective of the gender of the referent, as discussed below in §5.3.1.3.

Certain adjectives are invariant in their form, irrespective of the gender of their referent. Many of these are consonant-final. Some examples are given in (5.46).

- | | | | | |
|--------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| (5.46) | <i>kilkil</i>
'happy' | <i>nyambarnin</i>
'old, venerable' | <i>balika</i>
'hungry' | <i>wayabi</i>
'exhausted' |
| | <i>lakarr</i>
'broken' | <i>jabarra</i>
'sour, bitter' | <i>wakunya</i>
'left, left-handed' | <i>marhumarlu</i>
'lame with illness' |

5.3.1.3 Gender disagreement and the gender feature structure

Adjectives almost always appear overtly bearing the gender of their referent, as described in the preceding section, but demonstratives often do not. In either case, when the gender of the referent disagrees (fails to agree) with the the gender of its referent, there is a strict hierarchy of default agreements that are possible. If the referent is masculine, modifiers will always appear in their masculine form, and no other option is available (5.47j–l). If the noun is feminine (5.47a–c) or neuter (5.47d–e), the modifier may optionally appear in the masculine form. If the noun is vegetable, the modifier may optionally be either masculine (5.47f) or neuter (5.47g–i), rather than vegetable.

- (547) a. *Nyama-bili-rna-rni* *nayu-wurlu* *Kuwirrinji-yurlu*.
DEM(m)-dl-ERG-FOC woman-dl W.Mudburra(f)-dl
'These are two Western Mudburra women.'
- b. *Ngamulirni* *jalyamungka* *binjiya-ju*, *birnmirrini*.
girl(f) young(m) grow-do prepubescent.girl
'That little girl is growing up into a big girl.'

- c. *Nginda-rni wujuwujurni kurlukurli-rni, kurlungkurli-rni nginaniki*
 that(m)-FOC parrot(f) small-f small-f this(f)

wujuwujurni-rni.

parrot(f)-FOC

'The *wujuwujurni* parrot is small.'

- d. *Jama-rni nyanyalu-ngkujku, darrangu kirdilyaku.*
 that(m)-FOC leaf-HAVING(n) tree(n) bent(n)
 'That bent tree is leafy.'

- e. *Ngandirdi ngininiki-rni biyijala bikirra-rni.*
 grass.sp(n) this(n)-FOC tall(m) grass(n)-FOC
 'Ngandirdi is this tall grass.'

- f. *Karrangayimi nyamaniki langa ningki-mindi-yi, dajbajalmi*
 yam.species(v) this(m) dig-1dl.inc-FUT spicy(v)

nyamaniki marrimarri-mi.

this(m) cheeky-v

'The *karrangayimi* yam, which I'm going to dig up, will burn you.'

- g. *Ngimaniki bilirdbi, ngininiki bilirdbi, ngarri-mu*
 this(v) white.paint(v) this(n) white.paint 1sg.GEN-n

bilirdbi, ngarri-rnimi bilirdbi.

white.paint(v) 1sg.GEN-v white.paint(v)

'This white paint, this white paint, my white paint, my white paint.'

- h. *ngininiki barndumi or ngimaniki barndumi*
 this(n) lower.back(v) this(v) lower.back(v)
 'this lower back' 'this lower back'
 [offered by speaker as alternatives]

- i. *Bilyingbiyaku ngininiki-rni ngurndungurndulbi-rni lilingbi-nga-ju.*
 red(n) this(n)-FOC throat(v)-FOC hurt-1sg-do
 'My throat's red and sore.'

- j. **Bambawunji-rni ngaja-nga-nu, ngarri-mu.*
 shadow(m)-FOC see-1sg-did 1sg.GEN-n
 'I saw a shadow, my shadow.'

- k. *buliki jamaniki not *buliki jiminiki*
 cow(m) this(m) cow this(n)

1. **Dardu-mi bininja ya-jiyimi.*
 many-v man(m) 3sg-come
 'Many men are coming.'

This suggests that nouns are not organised into four discrete genders as one might arrange objects into four boxes, but rather that the genders exist as subsets of one another:

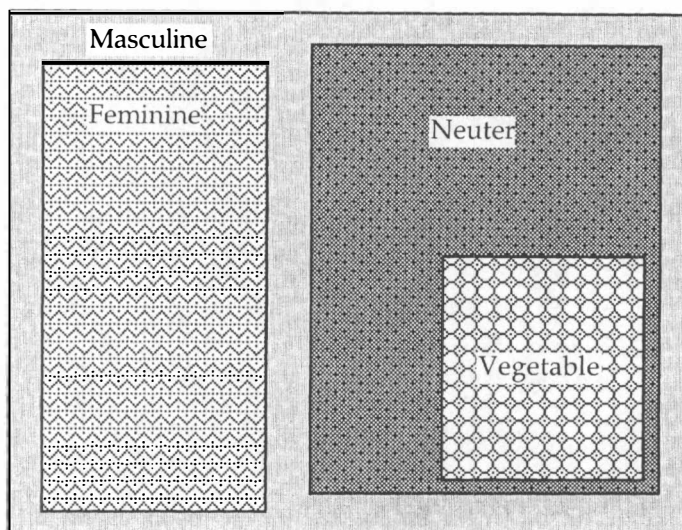


Figure 5.1: Nesting of genders in Jingulu

That is to say that all words fall into the 'masculine', more properly called 'gender-unspecified' group, and that within this group there are two marked classes, the feminine and the neuter nouns. Within the neuter class there is a further marked class, the vegetable class. The idea of this markedness is supported by the kinds of words that are found in the marked classes. Among birds, for instance, flightless birds, those less typically 'birdlike' for their lack of flight, are feminine rather than masculine. Among sexless objects, it is only those of a particular shape that are classified as vegetable (not even all vegetable foods fall into the vegetable class, as mentioned previously). A terminal node therefore bears the gender feature of its most specific class and, automatically, of all the classes that its class is a subclass of. If we imagine the features to be arranged as in Figure 5.2, then we can say a nominal bears the feature of its class and of all the nodes which dominate it.

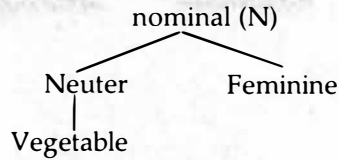


Figure 5.2: Hierarchy of gender features in Jingulu

Gender disagreement involves the erasure of one or more of these features. The only feature that cannot be erased is the category feature [N]. A vegetable gender word therefore begins with the features [N, Neuter, Vegetable]. If the feature [Vegetable] is erased, the word will appear in its neuter form. If the [Neuter] node is erased, thereby also eliminating the feature [Vegetable], the word will appear in the default genderless (masculine) form. Similarly, feminine nominals are supplied with the gender features [N, Feminine]. If the feature [Feminine] is erased, the word will appear in the default (masculine) form. Note that because there is no case-marking on part-whole constructions (see §4.1.2.2), and because masculine demonstratives are always allowed to co-refer with nouns of any gender, ambiguities may arise, such as that in (5.48). The context of such an utterance would usually disambiguate the intention of the phrase.

- (5.48) *ngindaniki* *nyijinmi*
 this(m) tail(v)
 ‘this tail’ or ‘its tail’

5.3.2 Number

5.3.2.1 Number morphology

Jingulu has three numbers: singular (sg), dual (dl) and plural (pl). Dual and plural number can be realised on nominals, demonstratives, and GEN pronouns in the form of number suffixes (in bold type in (5.49)), on free pronouns as suppletive stem forms (5.50) (but see §5.2 for a full discussion of free pronouns), and as different bound agreement markers in the verb (5.51) (but see §6.1 for a full discussion of verbal agreement).

- (5.49) a. *Ngarri-ni-bila* *bardarda-yila* *manyān wunyu-ju*.
 1sg.GEN-m-dl.anim younger.brother-dl.anim sleep 3dl-do
 ‘My two younger brothers are asleep.’
- b. *Jama-bila-rni* *Jingili-yila* *wunyi-yi marluka-yila*.
 that(m)-dl.anim-ERG Jingili.person-dl.anim 3dl-FUT old.man-dl.anim
 ‘They will be two old Jingili men.’

- c. *Ngini-bulu-rna banybila-nga-nu-rna ngaba-nga-ju-rna nyinda*
 DEM(n)-dl-FOC find-1sg-did-FOC have-1sg-did-FOC DEM(m)

banybila-nga-nu-rna jikaya-mbili.
 find-1sg-did-FOC lake-LOC
 'I found these two things at the lake.'

- d. *Nginda-baja ngiji-wurru-wardu nyina-bulu nayu-urlu garrim*
 that(m)-pl see-3pl-go DEM(f)-dl woman(dl) have(Kr)

nyambala murrkunbala amanjamanja ngibi-wurru-ju.
 DEM(n) three(m) children have-3pl-do
 'They've gone to visit the two women who have the three kids.'

- e. *Ngaja-nga-ju murrkunbala bayin-bala wijinki-wurri-ju nyambala*
 see-1sg-do three(m) people-pl.anim stand-3pl-do DEM(n)

lurru-ju-mbili wijinki-wurru-ju.
 sandy.ridge-LOC upright-3pl-do
 'I see three men standing on a sandy ridge.'

- f. *Jama-baja-rna yabanja-la irrk bili-wurru-nku-nu.*
 that(m)-pl.anim-FOC young.man-pl.anim paint-3pl-REFL-did
 'All the young men have painted themselves up.'

- g. *Ngaba-jiyimi dardu ardbulurra-rdarra ngaba-jiyimi dardu, wajbala-rni.*
 have-come many bull-pl have-come many whitefella-FOC
 'He's bringing lots of bulls, that whitefella.'

- h. *Dardu-wala bininja-rdarra Warumunga-rdarra wurri-jiyimi.*
 many.people man-pl Warumungu-pl 3pl-come
 'A big mob of Waramungu men are coming this way.'

- i. *Miju-wurri-yi wawa-la-rni bijardku.*
 get-3pl-FUT child-pl-ERG sugarleaf
 'The children want to get the sugarleaf.'

- j. *Banybila-nga-nu nyimanika-la nyambala kirangkuku.*
 find-1sg-did this(v)-pl DEM(n) melon.species
 'I found these kirangkuku melons.'

- k. *Karlakarlari-la ila-mi!*
 loose-pl put-IRR
 'Loosen these!'

As can be seen from the above examples, the dual suffix /-bila/ (realised as [-bila] or [-yila], (5.49a–b)) and the plural suffix /-bala/ (with allomorphs [-bala] and [-baja], (5.49d–f)) specify that the referents are animate, while the dual suffix /-bulu/ ((5.49c–d), allomorphs [-bulu] and [-(w)urlu]) and the plural suffix /-rdarra/ ([-darra], [-rdarra] or [-la]) do not (5.49f–k). These latter suffixes do not, however, specify inanimacy, and may be applied to either animate (5.49d, f–i) or inanimate (5.49c, j–k) referents. This kind of number marking is entirely optional, and is subject to ‘disagreement’ as described in §5.3.2.2.

Choice of allomorph may depend on the morphosyntactic category of the host word. On demonstratives, genitive pronouns, and numerals, dual marking specifying animacy is [-bila]/[-bili], while on other nominals dual is [-yila]. One exception was found, *bayinbila/bayinbala* (from *baya* ‘man’). The choice between [-(w)urlu] and [-bulu] for marking of the general (unspecified animacy) plural seems to be arbitrary, and is not conditioned by either morphosyntactic features of the host word or phonological environment. The choice between [-la] and [-(r)darra] for marking plurality on animates seems to be quite arbitrary, with the same speaker giving both *bininjala* and *bininjardarra* as plurals for *bininja* ‘man’ on different days. There are some distinct preferences, however: [-baja] is found almost exclusively with the demonstrative *jama* (as in (5.49d)), and words for people such as *wawa* ‘child’ and *bininja* ‘man’ usually take [-la] as their plural marker.

The word for ‘three’ has the plural animacy marker ‘built in’ as part of its masculine and feminine forms (*murrkumbala* and *murrkunbilirni* respectively), but as these number words are also used with inanimate referents of masculine and feminine genders, I assume that this is not to be analysed synchronically as plural/animacy marking. Animacy marking on nominals is never expressed independently of number marking, so that there is no morpheme that can be attached to a singular noun to show that its referent is animate.

Highlighted below are the pronominal forms (free in (5.50), bound agreement markers in (5.51)) which encode (non-singular) number as well as person.

- (5.50) a. *Mindiyila mindi-ju ngandayi-mbili.*

1dl.Inc.NOM 1dl.Inc-do shade-LOC

‘We two are sitting in the shade.’

- b. *Nginyila nginda-rni wawa miyi-wurru-na-ju nginyaku.*

1dl.Exc.NOM DEM(m)-FOC boy hit-3pl-1O-do 1dl.Exc.ACC

‘They hit me and the boy.’

- c. *Ajuwara kunyu-wardu kunyilarni?*

whither 2dl-go 2dl.ERG

‘Which way are you two going?’

- d. *Jama-rni bininja ngaba-ju wunyaku nayu-urlu.*

that-FOC man have-do 3dl.ACC woman-dl

‘That man has two women.’

e. *Ibilkirni duwa-ju ngurnaku yuwubu.*
 rain rise-do 1pl.Inc.ACC wet season
 'The wet season's coming up on us.'

f. *Ngiji-wunyu-nu ngiji-warna-nu ngirraku ngaya*
 see-3dl-did see-3sgS.1O-did 1pl.Exc.ACC 1sg.NOM

ngunu-mbili-kaji.
 DEM(n)-LOC-through
 'Those two saw me and him right over there.'

g. *Ulukaja-nku-ngku kurruwala!*
 wash-REFL-will.come 2pl.NOM
 'You lot come and wash yourselves!'

h. *Wawa-la ngarrarnma-nga-yi wurraaku.*
 child-pl feed-1sg-FUT 3pl.ACC
 'I must feed my children.'

(551) a. *Wayabi mindu-ju, ngandayi-ngka mankiya duki-mindu-wa.*
 tired 1dl.Inc-do shade-ALL sit stay-1dl.Inc-will.go
 'We're tired, let's sit in the shade.'

b. *Ngiji-nginyu-nu nganku.*
 see-1dl.Exc-did 2sg.ACC
 'He and I saw you.'

c. *Dirrk biji-kunya-na-nu nginyaku.*
 pull-2dl-1O-did 1dl.Exc.ACC.
 'You two picked us two up.'

d. *Imbili-wunyu-nku-wardi.*
 chase-3dl-REFL-go
 'Those two are arguing.'

e. *Jama kirlirruala lujbu-ngurri-yi ngarnu kanjarlawurri-rna.*
 that(m) grass.sp burn-1pl.Inc-FUT 3sg.ACC.m kangaroo-DAT
 'We burn that grass when hunting kangaroos.'

f. *Jingkarli-kaji ngirru-ju.*
 happy-through 1pl.Exc-do
 'We're all happy now.'

- g. *Ngirdi-kurru-ju ngumi?*
defecate-2pl-do faeces
'Are you guys having a crap?'
- h. *Nginda-bila-rni miyi-wurru-ju nyaku Jangala, Nangala.*
DEM-dl.anim-FOC hit-3pl-do 3dl.ACC skin.name skin.name⁴
'They hit Jangala and Nangala.'

It is possible to argue, as Chadwick (1975) does, that (with the exception of first person dual inclusive [mind-I]) person is encoded in the initial elements of the pronouns (/ng/ for first person, /k/ for second person, and /w/ for third person), and number in the next consonant (/ny/ for dual, /rr/ for plural). This claim almost certainly has some historical justification, but Jingulu morphemes are generally at least one mora in length, not just a segment, and the intervening vowel is not predictable. The irregularity of the first person dual inclusive (/mind-/ rather than /ng-/) as well as the absence of several third person forms also suggest that there is no separation of person and number in the synchronic grammar.

5.3.2.2 Number feature structure

As with gender marking, there is a great deal of variability in number marking. A nominal or demonstrative with non-singular reference need not be marked for number at all (5.52), while a dual nominal is often found represented by plural morphology (5.53). A plural, however, is never represented by dual morphology.

- (5.52) a. *Nyamina-rni nyinawurdirni-rni ya-rruku ngarnu jami-rna*
DEM(f)-ERG echidna-ERG 3sg-went 3sg.ACC.m that-FOC

darra-yi jama-rni bakungunjirni.
eat-FUT that-FOC ant
'That echidna went to get ants to eat.'
- b. *Nginda-rni ngaja-mi jurliji-rdarra diyim ka-rdu!*
DEM(m)-FOC see-IRR bird-pl fly 3sg-go
'Look at all the birds flying!'
- c. *Banybila-nga-nu nginda jurrkulu-mbili dardu bilirna.*
find-1sg-did DEM(m) creek-LOC many redgum
'I found many red gums at the creek.'

⁴ Jangala and Nangala are Mudburra forms for the Jingulu Jangalinginja and Nangalinginju respectively. Jingulu speakers commonly use the Mudburra skin names when speaking Jingulu. This was probably commonplace before Jingulu speakers stopped using Jingulu as a language of communication, given that the Jingili and (Eastern) Mudburra have functioned as a single people for cultural and ritual purposes for some generations (see §1.1).

(553) a. *Nyama-baji imimikin-bili-rni-rni ardalakbi-wurru-ju.*
 DEM-pl old.woman-dl.anim-f-ERG hot-3pl-do
 'The two old women feel hot.'

b. *Jama-bila-rni bininja-ala wunyu-ju Kurungu-mbili.*
 that-dl.anim-FOC man-pl.anim 3dl-do Gurungu-LOC
 'Those two men live at Gurungu.'

This number 'disagreement' is quite a common strategy with bound pronominal agreement as well (5.54), and uncommon but possible also with free pronouns (5.55).

(554) a. *Kunyirrini dij bila-nya-mi kandirri!*
 2dl.ERG divide-2sg-IRR bread
 'You two cut up the bread.'

b. *Dardu buliki ya-ju, nginda ngawu-mbili-rni dardu buliki.*
 many cow 3sg-do DEM(m) camp-LOC-FOC many cow
 'There's a lot of cows over there by the station.'

c. *Nyambala nikin ngurri-yi bambu ngimaniki.*
 DEM(n) cut 1pl.Inc-FUT didgeridoo this(v)
 'We'll cut this didgeridoo.'

[context provided only two possible referents for subject]

d. *Kujarri-bila-rni yurriyi-wurru-ju.*
 two-dl(person)-FOC play-3pl-do
 'Those two boys are playing.'

(555) a. *Jijiki-ngirri-yuna-ngku baja-mi ngarru umangku.*
 ask.for-1pl.Exc-2O(Kr)-will.come follow-IRR 1sg.ACC story
 'We're asking you to come and tell us a story.'

b. *Jami-rna warlaku-rni imbila-nu bayin-bila wurraku.*
 that(m)-FOC dog-ERG chase-did person-dl.anim 3pl.ACC
 'The dogs chased those two people.'

This suggests a feature structure for number as in (Figure 5.4), which can also be represented as the set diagram in Figure 5.3. This is highly reminiscent of the organisation of gender features proposed in §5.3.1.3.



Figure 5.3: Nesting of number in Jingulu

There is no morphological category of 'singular' in Jingulu, this is instead the default or unspecified number. Plural is a marked subset of number, with dual being a further marked subset of plural.

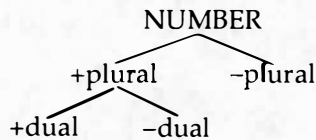


Figure 5.4: Hierarchy of number features in Jingulu

A dual nominal will be specified for the features [number: +plural, +dual]. If the feature [+dual] is erased then the nominal will surface with Plural marking, while if the feature [+plural] (and hence its dependent feature Dual) is erased, the nominal will surface with the default marking for number (which is null).

5.3.3 Case and role marking

A nominal in Jingulu can bear a number of suffixes indicating the role or roles which it plays in a clause. Sometimes this marking can be considered purely structural (Ergative marking, Dative marking on indirect objects, or the use of the Instrumental to mark inanimate subjects of transitive clauses), and this is called core case marking. Adpositional or semantic case markers, on the other hand, have some inherent encyclopedic content, indicating properties such as location of an event or action, or direction of an event or action toward or away from the referent of the nominal.

Finally, morphemes which mark emphasis or discourse prominence (the latter prevalent in both dialects of Jingulu) are considered to be pragmatic role markers.

Adjacent co-referent nominals can be marked for case individually (5.56a–c) or they can act as a unit with respect to case marking. In this latter case, the suffix appears on only one of the elements (5.56d–g). If the suffix does not appear on all adjacent co-referent words, it usually appears on the final word in the sequence (5.56d–e), though not always (5.56f–g). Demonstratives seems to ‘attract’ case-marking so that, if not all of a sequence of adjacent co-referent nominals are marked, demonstratives are more likely to be marked than other nominals.

The grouping of adjacent co-referent nominals in this respect is the only argument for anything like a multi-word NP in Jingulu. Those words which form groups of adjacent and co-referent nominals in (5.56) are grouped with square brackets.

- (5.56) a. *Kirangkujju-nu darra-ardi [buliki-rni dimana-rni].*
 melon.species-did eat-HAB cow-ERG horse-ERG
 ‘Cows and horses eat this melon.’
- b. *[Ngarri-ni-rni bibi-rni] maya-nu ngarru ngininiki.*
 1sg.GEN-m-ERG son-ERG kill-did 1sg.ACC this(n)
 ‘My son killed me this one.’
- c. *Nginda wurru-rruku [kuna-ngka bunungkurru-ngka].*
 that(m) 3pl-went ANAPH(n)-ALL billabong-ALL
 ‘They went to that lake [you know the one].’
- d. *[Ngarri-na bibi-rni] maya-nu, murdika-arndi.*
 1sg.GEN-m son-ERG kill-did car-INST
 ‘My son killed it with his car.’
- e. *[Jakulajki-yi ngindaniki-rni] wurru-nu warr kuja-nama*
 possum-FUT this(m)-ERG 3pl-did scratch-time

namalu-nu milinji-warndi, nginda-rni namalu-mbili ya-ju jayili.
 hollow-did claw-INST that(m)-FOC hollow-LOC 3sg-do inside
 ‘If possums have scratched up the [outside of the] hollow log, then you know they are living inside that log.’
- f. *[Jama-baja-rni yarrulan-rdarra murrkun-bala] nayu-nga*
 that-pl-ERG young.man-pl three-pl.anim woman-DAT.f

durli-wurru-ju.
 seek-3pl-do
 ‘Those three young men are looking for women.’

- g. *Yawulyu, jujurrka-ju, [ngina-rni nayurni] ngarnu maja-rrtyt.*
 love.song love.dance-do that(f)-ERG woman 3sg.ACC.m get-will.go
 'That woman is performing a love song and dance in order to get him.'

When co-referent free nominals are not adjacent, each contiguous set (NP) must bear at least one case marker, as displayed in (5.57a–c). The only exception is if one of the NPs has been dislocated to a clause margin (see §4.1.1 for discussion of dislocation), in which case it appears in the unmarked absolutive form (5.57d).

- (5.57) a. *Jami-rni-rni lakarr maja-rna-nu nyambala kangarnda lakarr maja-ana-yi*
 that-ERG-FOC break-1O-did DEM(n) jaw break-1O-FUT
ya-rnarna jami-rni-rni.
 3sg-3sgS.1sgO that-ERG-FOC
 'That guy broke my jaw.'
- b. *Dardu-wala-rni maja-ni-ngurru-ju wajbala-rni.*
 many.people-ERG get-PASS-1pl.Inc-do whitefella-ERG
 'Lots of white people took photos of us.'
- c. *Walanja-rna ngaja-rruku yunku-rna.*
 goanna-DAT see-went print-DAT
 'They saw a goanna's tracks.'
- d. *Jama-bila, birri-wunya-na-miki marluka-yili-rni.*
 that-dl.anim visit-3dl-1O-came old.man-dl-ERG
 'Those two old people came to see me yesterday.'

These generalisations about which elements need to be marked applies to both the core markers in §5.3.3.1 and the adpositional cases in §5.3.3.2. Discourse markers are more free in their distribution and prefer to appear on the first, rather than last, element in a contiguous string of co-referent words, as discussed in §5.3.3.3.

5.3.3.1 Core, structural or grammatical case

Unlike pronouns (§5.2), which have separate forms for Nominative (subject of an intransitive clause), Ergative (subject of a transitive clause) and Accusative (object) function, lexical nominals appear in their unmarked form (Absolutive, the citation form) except when they represent subjects of transitive clauses (in which case they bear ERG marking), indirect objects, goals, or possessors (which all usually bear DAT marking).

5.3.3.1.1 The Ergative suffix /-rni/

The ERG suffix typically appears on animate nominals construed with transitive subjects or, as discussed in §4.1.2.1, subjects of predicate nouns (inanimate transitive subjects generally take the Instrumental suffix /-(w)arndi/, see §5.3.3.2.2). The ERG suffix is realised as [-ka] on feminine kin terms (5.58g), [-nga] on other feminine nominals (5.58e–f) and [-rni] on other nominals (5.58a–d). If a feminine nominal bears the characteristic feminine ending /-rni/ (§5.3.1.1) in its Absolutive or citation (unmarked) form, then ERG [-ka]/ [-nga] replaces this /-rni/ (as in (5.58e–g)).

- (558) a. *Arrkuja-narna-nu ngaya kardayi-rni.*
 scratch-3mS.1O-did 1sg.NOM cat-ERG
 'The cat scratched me.'
- b. *Babi-rni ikiya-rnarna-nu ibilkini.*
 older.brother-ERG wet-3mS.1O-did water
 'My brother wet me.'
- c. *Ngayirni babi-rni ngiji-nginyi-nu kujkarrana yaminju-nu,*
 1sg.ERG older.brother-ERG see-1dl.Exc-did two(m) shooting.star-did
nyu-rruku nyinawarra.
 2sg-went this.way
 'My brother and I saw two shooting stars when you'd gone.'
- d. *Miji-wurri-yi wawa-la-rni bijardku.*
 get-3pl-FUT child-pl-ERG sugarleaf
 'The children want to get the sugarleaf.'
- e. *Uliyijirni, maja-ngarna-ju uliyija-nga ngabanju.*
 sun(NOM) get-3fs.1O sun-ERG.f eye [citation/ABS = uliyijirni]
 'The sun, the sun's getting in my eyes.'
- f. *Jama-rna maya-nga-yi munju-nga.*
 that-FOC hit-1sg-FUT elbow-ERG [citation/ABS = munjurni]
 'I'll elbow that fellow.'
- g. *Kunyangula-nama ya-miki ngaja-nga-nu lala-ka*
 other.day-time 3sg-came see-1sg-did father-f.kin.ERG
ngarri-ninga.
 1sg.GEN-ERG.f (citation/ABS = lilirni)
 'The other day my father's sister came to visit me.'

Note the difference between the citation form *lilirni* and the ERG form *lalaka* in (5.58g). The high vowel /i/ appears in the stem of the citation form *lilirni* by virtue of vowel harmony (explained in §2.4), induced by the (regular) feminine marker /-rni/. In the absence of this triggering morpheme, the feminine features being expressed jointly with ergativity in the suffix /-ka/, vowel harmony does not take place, and the stem surfaces as /lala-/.

While in elicitation speakers only accepted [-ka] and [-nga] on feminine nominals, the Ergative ending is realised as [-rni] on clearly feminine nominals in speech. In this case the characteristic feminine ending [-rni] is not dropped:

- (5.59) a. *Nyamina-rni nyinawurdirni-rni ya-rruku ngarnu jami-rna*
 DEM(f)-ERG echidna-ERG 3sg-went 3sg.ACC.m that(m)-FOC

darra-yi jama-rni bakumunjini.
 eat-FUT that(m)-FOC ant
 'That echidna went to get ants to eat.'

- b. *Ngina-rni jakirrirni-rni darra-ardi marru.*
 that(f)-ERG white.ant-ERG eat-HAB house
 'White ants eat people's houses.'

In practice, the use of [-ka] is extremely rare. There appears to be a 'regularisation' of ERG morphology to [-rni] taking place in Jingulu. The distinctions are maintained more in the Warrangkanku dialect than the Kuwarrangu dialect (§1.1.4).

When the subject of a transitive clause is inanimate, it is usually marked with the Instrumental suffix /-(w)arndi/, rather than the Ergative. This is demonstrated under the discussion of the Instrumental in §5.3.3.2.2.

5.3.3.1.2 The Dative suffix /-rna/

Dative marking typically appears on nominals construed with indirect objects, goals, or possessors. As these functions are structurally rather than purely semantically related, DAT is considered a structural case. As discussed below, however, DAT marking also has functions which seem more semantically motivated. The Dative suffix is realised as [-ka] on feminine kin terms (5.60a), [-nga] on other feminine nominals (5.60b–c) and [-rna] elsewhere (5.60d–e):

- (5.60) a. *Ngaanki-rni biwurlirni ngarri-ninga bibi-ka ngarrabaja-nga-nu.*
 2sg.GEN-f daughter 1sg-DAT.f daughter-f.kin.DAT tell-1sg-did
 'I told your daughter about my daughter.'

- b. *Jama-rni bininja-rni ija-jkal-a nayu-nga.*
 that(m)-FOC man-ERG itch-NOML(A)-m woman-DAT.f
 'That man is (generally) itchy for women.'

- c. *Ngirriki-ngirri-marri ngayi yalbawurru-nga duli-duli ngayi-nga.*
 hunt-1plExc-DIST 3sgfACC bilby-DAT.f seek-RED 3ACC.f-DAT.f
 'We hunted the bilby, we'd go looking for it.'
- d. *Bubuji-rna marluka-rna ngaba-nga-rriyi ngarnu*
 grey.haired(m)-DAT old.man-DAT have-1sg-will.go 3sg.ACC.m
bundurru-nu ngunya-nga-rriyi, ngamba-yi manyan ka-yi bundundurra.
 food-did give-1sg-will.go PURP-FUT sleep 3sg-FUT sated(m)
 'I'll take this food over and give it to the old white-haired man so that he
 can have a sleep once he's full up.'
- e. *Ngangi-rna ya-ardu ngirrik-ardu walanja-rna.*
 meat-DAT 3sg-go hunt-go goanna-DAT
 'He's going hunting for goanna meat.'

The allomorphy of both Dative and Ergative case suffixes means that these cases are indistinct from one another on feminine nominals (both being realised as [-ka]/[-nga]).

Dative marking is one of the most versatile affixes in Jingulu. In addition to its appearance on indirect objects and on beneficiary arguments of certain predicates (5.61), and possessor NPs (5.62), DAT can also appear on nominals in a variety of oblique roles (5.64). Furthermore, as discussed in §5.3.3.1, it appears to also be taking on the role of marking elements as prominent in discourse.

- (5.61) a. *Ngini-rni bundurru ngaba-nga-rriyi ngarnu ngindi-rna*
 that(n)-FOC food have-1sg-will.go 3sg.ACC.m that(m)-DAT
marluka-rna.
 old.man-DAT
 'I'll take some food to that old man.'
- b. *Jama warda-ju ngarnu wawa-rna.*
 that(m) yell-do 3sg.ACC.m child-DAT
 'She's yelling at the children.'
- c. *Arduwa-nama ngarri-na baba ngaya dirdikirri-nginyu-ju*
 careful-time 1sg.GEN-m older.brother 1sg.NOM wait-1dl.Exc-do
ngarnu kirda-rna.
 3sg.ACC.m father-DAT
 'My older brother and I are waiting for Dad.'

- d. *Wurra-nga-nku-ju ngarnu, jami-rna bininja-rna.*
 love-1sg-REFL-do 3sg.ACC.m that(m)-DAT man-DAT
 'I'm in love with that man.'
- e. *Jama-bali-rna jiki-rri-wunyu-ju bundurru-rna.*
 that-dl.anim-FOC ask-RRI-3dl-do food-DAT
 'Those two are asking for food.'

In Wambaya, Dative arguments of verbs like 'wait for' do not allow the object to be dropped. The Jingulu clauses in (5.61c-e), however, are still grammatical without the Dative NP or an ACC pronoun (with a definite interpretation of the argument in question).

Dative marking appears on nouns and adjectives (but not on pronouns, where the GEN form appears) that refer to the possessor of an item:

- (5.62) a. *Banybila-nga-nu wawirri-rna ngarnu nyambala kurlumbu*
 find-1sg-did kangaroo⁵-DAT 3sg.ACC.m DEM(n) thigh.bone
lakarr mayi-nu.
 broken-did
 'I found a broken kangaroo thighbone.'
- b. *Ngarru-nu nginya-ku kirda-rna ngawu-nu.*
 1sg.GEN-n 1dl.Exc-went father-DAT home-did
 'Here is my father's country.'
- c. *Nyinda-rna nganga juwirri-mindu-wa yunku.*
 DEM(m)-DAT meat follow-1dl.Inc-will.go foot
 'We must follow the animal's tracks.'
- d. *Ngini-rni-rni ngarnu marrkulu-nu kurrkabardi-rna.*
 that(n)-ERG-FOC 3sg.GEN egg-did turkey-DAT
 'That's a turkey's egg.'
- e. *Nyama-rni mami jangki-rna ngarnu.*
 DEM(v)-ERG vegetable another-DAT 3sg.GEN
 'That's someone else's food.'

⁵ Wawirri for 'kangaroo' is a Warlpiri form. One speaker with whom I worked was fluent in Warlpiri as well as Jingulu and several other languages. On rare occasions he would use a Warlpiri word when speaking Jingulu.

- f. *Nyina ngaanku lilirni nyamirna-rna ngarnu ngaanki-ni-rna-rni*
 that(f) 2sg.GEN aunt DEM(f)-DAT 3sg.GEN 2sg.GEN-m-DAT-FOC

kirda-rna-rni bardarda.
 father-DAT-FOC y.sibling
 'That *lilirni* of yours is your father's little sister.'

There are rare cases of possessors in alienable (non part-whole) relationships not being marked DAT, but the only cases involve clause peripheral possessors and the loss of case marking could be due to dislocation:

- (5.63) *Kanya ngayarni-rni ngaba-nga-rriyi karnarrinyimi ngirriki.*
 uncle 1sg.ERG-FOC have-1sg-FUT spear hunting
 'I'll take my uncle's spear and go hunting.'
 OR 'My uncle, I'll take his spear hunting.'

The DAT suffix also marks the beneficiary (5.64a), cause (5.64b-d), or purpose (5.64e-h) of an action or state (not an argument of the clause), or the subject matter of a conversation or story (5.64i-j):

- (5.64) a. *Jarranguna darlukurru ila-mi wawa-rna.*
 coolamon deep(n) put-IRR child-DAT
 'Make a deep coolamon for the child.'
- b. *Jama-rna ngaja-nga-nu mikinji bijbulaka-nga-nu.*
 that(m)-DAT see-1sg-did snake jump-1sg-did
 'Because I saw that snake, I jumped up into the air.'
- c. *Wawa kurlukurla ngiliwa-ju ngurrayijbi-rna.*
 child small(m) fear-do dark-DAT
 'Young children are afraid of the dark.'
- d. *Marliya-nga-ju ngawu-rni-rna ngawu-rna.*
 sick-1sg-do home-FOC-DAT home-DAT
 'I'm homesick.'
- e. *Karriyaku jiminiki darrangku, kurruda-rni. Nyirrba-ju*
 bad(n) this(n) tree river.bloodwood-FOC make-do

kurrubardu-rna-rni akiyabardu.
 boomerang-DAT-FOC bad(n)
 'The wood of the river bloodwood is no good for making boomerangs.'

- f. *Jimi-rni jawaranya buba-ngka ila-mi, jalurruka-rna.*
 this-FOC billy fire-LOC put-IRR tea-DAT
 'Put the billy on the fire, for tea.'
- g. *Jimi-rna kirlirrwala lujbu-ngurri-yi ngarnu*
 that(n)-FOC grass.species burn-1pl.Inc-FUT 3sg.ACC.m
kanjarlawurri-rna.
 kangaroo-DAT
 'We'll burn kirlirrwala grass for [hunting] kangaroos.'
- h. *Duwa-nu ngarru durjudurjurra-nu bunbaku-rna.*
 rise-did 1sg.ACC prepare.to.fight-did fight-DAT
 'He got up to fight me.'
- i. *Warranganku-rna ambaya-nga-nu.*
 Beetaloo-DAT talk-1sg-did
 'I spoke about Beetaloo.'
- j. *Nyamba-rna biji-wunyu-nku-nu? Kangkyi-rna?*
 what-DAT chat-3dl-REFL-did grandfather-DAT
 'What were they chatting about? About grandpa?'

The apparent bivalence of DAT suffixes between syntactic (5.61) and semantic case marking ((5.62), (5.64)) has been noted in many languages, for example by Libert (1992). The ordering of the focus marker /-rni/ (§5.3.3.3.1) with respect to DAT differs according to whether DAT is marking syntactic or semantic case. When DAT is used in its syntactic function, Focus /-rni/ always follows it, whereas FOC is freely ordered with respect to DAT used in its adpositional function (compare, for instance, (5.64d-e)). This is because adpositions are attached to the nominal word outside of syntactic case (predication) markers. Focus can be at the word level, attaching outside case, or at the phrasal level, attaching outside of adpositions.

Finally, DAT appears on objects of nominalisations. The examples in (5.65) are repeated from §4.1.2.1.

- (5.65) a. *Jamaniki-rni narnangaj-ajkal-a marlumarlu-rna-rni.*
 this(m)-ERG mind-NOML(A)-m sick-DAT-FOC
 'He is a carer for the ill.'
- b. *Darra-jkali-rni nginarni-rni bamardanya-nu darrangku-rna*
 eat-NOML(A)-f this(f)-ERG-FOC white.ant-did tree-DAT
marru-rna.
 house-DAT
 'This here white ant is an eater of trees and houses.'

5.3.3.2 Semantic or adpositional case

The effect of semantic case suffixes on the interpretation of the nominals they appear on is translated by a variety of English prepositions such as 'with', 'to(ward)', 'from', 'at', 'on', and 'in'. They are therefore also referred to as 'adpositional suffixes'. A nominal may bear more than one adpositional suffix (5.66a-c). Possessors, whether DAT-marked or GEN pronouns, can bear other adpositional suffixes (5.66d-e) or Ergative marking (if they are construed with a transitive subject, as in (5.66f-g)).

- (5.66) a. *Buba jimi-rni ila-mi jungkali marru-ngka-mbili karningka*
firewood that(n)-FOC put-IRR far house-ALL-LOC LEST

buba-arndi ngunji-jiyimi marru.
fire-INST burn-come house

'Put the firewood down far from the house lest the fire burn the house down.'

- b. *Linyarda-mbili umbumi-nga-ardi, darra-nga-ardi linyarda-ngka-mbili*
charcoal-LOC cook-1sg-HAB eat-1sg-HAB charcoal-ALL-LOC
'I cook it on the coals then eat what's been put on the coals.'

- c. *Ngaba-ardimi jimi-rna ngarnu larnku-rdarra ukurdu-nga-mbili*
have-DIST that(n)-FOC 3sg.ACC.m stuff-pl bag-DAT.f-LOC

nyami-nga-mbili-rni.

DEM(f)-DAT.f-LOC-FOC

'He brought all his equipment out of a bag.'

- d. *Ngarru-nu-ngka ngawu-ngka lakarr maja-nu ngarru duwa.*
1sg.GEN-n-ALL house-ALL break-did 1sg.GEN door(Kr)
'Someone came to my house and broke my door.'

- e. *Waku-waku-ma nga-nu jiminiki-rni uliyija-nga-mbili ila-nya-nu.*
bad-RED-EMPH 1sg-did this(n)-FOC sun-DAT.f-LOC put-2sg-did
'You left it in the sunlight and it spoiled on me.' [lit. in the sun's]

- f. *Nganga-rni darra-nu jangka-rna-rni warlaku-rni.*
meat-FOC eat-did another-DAT-ERG dog-ERG
'Someone else's dog ate the meat.'

- g. *Ngarri-ni-rni* *babi-rni* *ngirrma-ju kurrubardi, ngayirni*
 1sg.GEN-m-ERG older.brother-ERG make-do boomerang 1sg.ERG

ngirrma-nga-ju lawunja, jalyangku-nama.
 make-1sg-do coolamon today-time
 'My older brother's making a boomerang while I make a
 coolamon, today.'

There are also some instances of stacking of more than one possessor case, when a possessor construction occurs as the possessor of another, as in 'the spear of the uncle of me' in (5.67).

- (5.67) *Karnarrinyimi ngarnu ngarri-ni-rna kanyi-rna.*
 spear 3sg.GEN 1sg.GEN-m-DAT uncle-DAT
 'That spear is my uncle's.'

5.3.3.2.1 The locational suffixes

The locational suffixes are the Locative /-mbili/, denoting location in space or time (5.68), the Allative /-ngka/, which denotes movement toward the referent of the host nominal (5.69), and the Ablative /-ngkami/, indicating movement away from the referent of the host nominal (5.70).

- (5.68) a. *Barangarnaju-mbili nyirri-rruku.*
 narrow.gap-LOC 1pl.Exc-went
 'We drove along the narrow gap.'
- b. *Nyinda bakara-mbili, mankiyi-wunya-ju bakara-mbili.*
 DEM(m) clearing-LOC sit-3dl-do clearing-LOC
 'Those two are sitting in the clearing.'
- c. *Marawunji-mbili ya-ju jambilijini, karruji jambilijina-ju*
 web-LOC 3sg-do live spider live-do
- marawunji-rni-mbili.*
 web-FOC-LOC
 'The spider lives in a web.'
- d. *Yurriyi-wurru-ju wawa kijurlurlu-mbili.*
 play-3pl-do child stone-LOC
 'The children are playing among the stones.'

- e. *Karalu ngaba-nga-ju bilyingbiyaku marndamarnda-mbili*
 ground have-1sg-do red.sand hand-LOC
 'My hands are covered in red dust.'

- f. *Dimbu-mbili madayi-ju*
 sky-LOC cloud-do
 'The sky is cloudy.'

- g. *Banybila-nga-nu nyikirrurru, nyambala wubala-mbili*
 find-1sg-did bloodwood.nut DEM bloodwood-LOC

banybila-nga-nu nyikirrurru.
 find-1sg-did bloodwood.nut
 'I found those nuts on the bloodwood tree.'

- h. *Kuwaraku-kaji angkula ya-ardi kijijimarrini ngini-mbili, ya-marri*
 none-through NEG 3sg-HAB brahminy here 3sg-DIST

marlarluka-rni-mbili.
 old.men-FOC-LOC
 'There are no brahminy kites here now, though there were in days of old.'

- i. *Ibilkini-mbili yurrayaju wawa, nyambala karalu.*
 rain-LOC play-do child DEM(n) ground
 'During the rains the children play in the mud.'

- j. *Marlarluka-rni-mbili angkula ya-marri.*
 old.men-FOC-LOC NEG 3sg-DIST
 'They weren't around in the old people's time.'

As (5.68a–g) indicate, LOC usually indicates the location of an entity or event in space, though the bold-faced elements in (5.68h–j) show LOC being used to locate an event in time.

The Allative suffix is apparently only ever used with spatial reference:

- (5.69) a. *Wiwirni wardka-nu bamburru-ngka.*
 girl fall-did hole-ALL
 'The girl fell into a hole.'

- b. *Nyinda ila-nga-yi waya-ngka ladaji ya-yi.*
 DEM(m) put-1sg-FUT wire-ALL dry 3sg-FUT
 'I'll put these [clothes] onto the line to dry.'

- c. *Nginda duku-nga-rriyi ngandayi-ngka.*
 DEM(m) sit-1sg-will.go shade-ALL
 'I'm going to go sit in that shade.'
- d. *Karl nga-rdu kijurlurlu-ngka.*
 up 1sg-go hill-ALL
 'I'm climbing up the hill.'
- e. *Kunjuwa-nu nyamba-nayi lungkaru ngibi-ngurru-wa*
 swallow-did DEM(n)-INDEF poison have-1pl.Inc-will.go

ngunbuluka-rni-ngka.

doctor-FOC-ALL

'He swallowed something poisonous so we took him to the hospital.'

The Ablative suffix, while typically used to indicate actual motion away from a point in space, can be used to indicate the origin of something (note (5.70e, f, h) in particular). In (5.70i), the suffix is used with clearly temporal, rather than spatial, reference.

- (5.70) a. *Marlinja-ngkami ya-miki baba ngarri-na.*
 Marlinja-ABL 3sg-came older.brother 1sg.GEN-m
 'My brother came down from Marlinja.'
- b. *Walanja banybila-mu urr maja ka-ju nyinda ngawu-ngkami.*
 goanna find-did pull 3sg-do DEM(m) home-ABL
 'He started pulling the goanna out of its hole.'
- c. *Nginduuvu-ngkami wurra-miki jungkali karalu-ngkami.*
 this.way-ABL 3pl-came far ground-ABL
 'The soldiers came from lands far over that way.'
- d. *Ajuwaru-ngkami nya-miki?*
 where-ABL 2sg-came
 'Where are you from?'
- e. *Buna miji-ngurri irringila-ngkami.*
 ash get-1pl.Inc baubinia-ABL
 'We get ashes from the baubinia tree.'
- f. *Buja-nga-ju wanjku, nyini-bulu buja-nga-ju wanjku-ngkami.*
 smell-1sg-do armpit, that(n)-dl smell-1sg-do armpit-ABL
 'My armpits smell, I'm smelly from my armpits.'

- g. *Urdurru-ngkami jayirli jayirlu-ngkami maja-mi ngaba-wa ngarru.*
 inside-ABL inside inside-ABL get-IRR get-will.go 1sg.ACC
 'Get that from inside and bring it to me.'
- h. *Kambulimi dirri-ngirru-wardi ngimaniki-rni kambuluma-ngkami.*
 terminalia.sp eat-1pl.Exc-HAB this(v)-FOC terminalia.sp-ABL
 'We eat the gum from this *kambulimi* tree.'
- i. *Kurlukurla-rni-ngkami ya-marri milan-jija.*
 small(m)-FOC-ABL 3sg-DIST fingernail-PRIV
 'He's had no nails ever since he was little.'

The ABL suffix /-ngkami/ contains the ALL suffix /-ngka/ and this is probably no accident historically. However, the suffix /-mi/ is not productive in any way consistent with the relationship between Allative and Ablative (though it is homophonous with the Irrealis marker described in §6.2.2), so it appears that the ALL and ABL suffixes in Jingulu are synchronically distinct.

The Jingulu word for 'tomorrow' is composed of the stem meaning 'morning' plus the ALL suffix⁶:

- (571) a. *Ngurraru-ngka ngurru-wa, ngurraru-nama ngurru-wa.*
 tomorrow 1pl.Inc-will.go early.morning 1pl.Inc-will.go
 'We'll leave very early tomorrow morning.'
- b. *Yajka nga-rriyi ngurraru-ngka.*
 away 1sg-will.go tomorrow
 'I'm going away tomorrow.'

5.3.3.2.2 The Instrumental suffix /-(w)arndi/

This suffix marks instruments used by animate agents (5.72a–d) as well as inanimate subjects of transitive predicates (5.72g–m). Body-part nominals may bear INST marking to show that the action was performed using that part of the body (5.72e–f). The suffix is occasionally realised as [-marndi], most commonly following /a/, but with no great regularity.

- (572) a. *Makirdi-warndi dirnda-nu.*
 gun-INST shoot-did
 'He fired (with) a gun.'

⁶ The actual word for morning, *ngurrarunama*, is composed of the same (apparently bound) stem /ngurraru-/ plus the temporal adverbialising suffix /-nama/ (§3.2.2.2).

- b. *Miyi-wunyu-nku-ju bardku-warndi.*
hit-3dl-REFL-do nulla.nulla-INST
'They're fighting with nulla-nullas.'
- c. *Nga-rruku ngirriki kurrubardu-warndi, karnarrinyma-arndi.*
1sg-went hunting boomerang-INST spear-INST
'I went out hunting with a boomerang and spear.'
- d. *Kumurru-ngka ila-nga-yi biyawiya-arndi*
big.grindstone-ALL make-1sg-FUT small.grindstone-INST
ngurraja-nga-yi.
grind-1sg-FUT
'I'm grinding on the big grindstone with the small one.'
- e. *Yuunku-warndi nga-rriyi.*
foot-INST 1sg-will.go
'I'll go on foot.'
- f. *Warramal juwa-nga-yi marndamarnda-arndi.*
scatter-1sg-FUT hand-INST
'I'll scatter them by hand.'
- g. *Wunba-arndi wajuwa-rnu.*
wind-INST scatter-did
'The wind scattered stuff.'
- h. *Ngarrini-rni lilirni jujum-arndi maya-nu.*
1sg.GEN-f aunt lightning-INST hit-did
'My aunt was struck by lightning.'
- i. *Yarungkurru-marndi idija-ju darrangku.*
snake.vine-INST tie-do tree
'The tree is being choked by snake-vine.'
- j. *Nga-rruku idajku-nu mangkuru-ngka ngaja-nga-nu ngunjalu*
1sg-went yesterday plain-ALL see-1sg-did burnt.grass
ngunja-mardi buba-arndi.
burn-go fire-INST
'I went out onto the plain yesterday and saw burnt grass, burnt by fire.'
- k. *Darrangku-warndi maya-ngarna-nu.*
tree-INST hit-3sgS.1sgO-did
'A tree hit me.' [contextually: 'I ran into a tree.']

- l. *Buba jimi-rni ila-mi jungkali marru-ngka-mbili karningka*
 firewood that(n)-FOC put-IRR far house-ALL-LOC LEST

buba-arndi ngunji-jiyimi marru.

fire-INST burn-come house

'Put the firewood down far from the house lest the fire burn the house down.'

- m. *Jarumi-warndi-rni ngaba-ju nyambala dabil-ajka-rni ngayi,*
 shield-INST-FOC have-do DEM(n) hold-NOML-FOC 3sg.ACC.f

biyardu.

handle

'Shields have a bit that you hold onto, the handle.'

The appearance of INST on nominals construed with inanimate subjects of transitive predicates is not entirely surprising. Minkoff (1994) and Pesetsky (1994), among others, have suggested that syntactic differences follow from whether the subject of a transitive clause is able to exercise volitional control over the event in question. In (5.72g-l) the subject is causing the state or event depicted by the predicate without being the 'agent' in any sense (in (5.72m) the subject is not even a causer, but is better described as a possessor). This cannot, however, follow from lexical properties of the verb (or verb+root combination) in Jingulu, since (5.73) shows subject positions which have one word construed with them marked INST and another, a demonstrative, marked ERG.

- (5.73) a. *Bundurru ngaba-ju jimi-rni-rni kirraya-marndi-rni,*
 food have-do that(n)-ERG-FOC peanut-INST-FOC

dirri-ngurru-wardi bundurru, nginja.

eat-1pl.Inc-HAB food seed

'The peanut tree has food, seeds, which we eat.'

- b. *Wukalu ngilma-ju nginda-rni-rni buba-arndi.*

smoke make-do that(m)-ERG-FOC fire-INST

'That fire is giving off smoke.'

This makes it unlikely that the choice of marking is determined by the syntactic position with which the overt nominal is construed. Instead it seems to be a result of whether the word to which the suffix attaches is specified as animate or not. We have already seen that animacy is a feature that can affect allomorphy (number marking; see §5.3.2.1). Animacy features are part of the nominal word that contains the root and the nominal head, and the spelling out of nominals construed with transitive subjects is sensitive to the presence of the feature [-animate]. If this feature is present on the head N, then the case (predication marking) features will be spelled out as /-(w)arndi/, otherwise it will be spelled out as /-rni/. Demonstratives are never

specified as [-animate], though, as we have seen from the discussion of number marking in §5.3.2.1, they can be specified as [+animate].

The sentence in (5.74) shows unusual and unexpected case marking.

- (5.74) *Dawurdawu-nga laj biji-mindi-yi.*
 axe-ERG.f split-1dl.Inc-FUT
 'We'll split it with an axe.'

The nominal *dawurdawu* bears an ERG suffix, but it indicates an instrument used by the agent to perform the action, and therefore should bear INST case. Even if *dawurdawu* were the subject (which is not the case, as the verb bears agreement for a first person dual inclusive subject), it should still bear INST case as an inanimate transitive subject. The other possibility for this sentence is that /-nga/ is DAT, rather than ERG, case, and the sentence means something like 'We'll split it for an axe (to make an axe handle)'.

5.3.3.2.3 The Comitative suffix /-ngkujku/

The Comitative suffix, glossed as 'HAVING', attaches to a nominal X when the referent is something or someone possessed of the property or item denoted by X:

- (5.75) a. *Ingalka-ngkujku ngini-rni-rni wanyarri-rni, wangkurra-ngkujku,*
 nectar-HAVING this(n)-ERG-FOC bauhinia-FOC sugarbag-HAVING
wangkurra ngaba-ju.
 sugarbag have-do
 'The bauhinia has nectar, and it has sugarbag too.'
- b. *Jakirra-ngkujku jimi-rni-rni marru-nu.*
 white.ant-HAVING that(n)-ERG-FOC house-did
 'That house there was eaten by white ants.'
- c. *Nginuwa wurru-rruku kuna darrangku janbara-ngkujku.*
 this.way 3pl-went ANAPH(n) tree nest-HAVING
 'They went to that tree with the nest in it'
- d. *Jamaniki jaarnda-ngkujki, ngamurlimi ngaba-ju jiyirndimi.*
 this(m) beard-HAVING big(v) have-do beard
 'He's bearded, he has a full big beard.'

Nominals that are predicated of other nominals which bear the Comitative suffix sometimes appear marked Ergative (5.75a–b) and sometimes not (5.75c), making it unclear whether the nominal which bears /-ngkujku/ is to be treated as a noun or an adjective in terms of structure (see §4.1.2.1 for an analysis of these clause types).

Sentence (5.75d) demonstrates an interesting property of the Comitative suffix, one which suggests that nominals bearing this suffix derive nouns from roots. The citation form for 'beard' is *jiiyirndimi*, a vegetable gender noun, but when this word bears a Comitative suffix, the characteristic vegetable gender ending /-mi/ disappears and the effects of harmony are undone. The resultant word then displays a final [i] rather than [u], suggesting that vegetable gender is now expressed on the derived word.

5.3.3.2.4 The Privative suffix /-jija/

The Privative suffix forms a predicate of the nominal to which it attaches, predicating the absence of the entity or property denoted by the host nominal. The suffix is realised as [-lija] following a syllable containing [y], [-bija] after a stop, and [-jija] elsewhere.

- (5.76) a. *Jiminiki-rlu nyambala bikirra karriyaku jiminiki-rna, darrangku*
 this(n)-FOC DEM(n) grass bad(n) this(n)-FOC tree

karriyaku, bundurru-jija.

bad(m) food-PRIV

'That kind of grass, that plant, has no food on it.'

- b. *Angkurla ngaba-nu burruku-jija, kiwirra.*

NEG have-did pubic.hair-PRIV none

'They had no pubes, nothing.'

- c. *Mankiya-warru-mi, jangayi-lija mankiya-warru-mi!*

sit-3pl-IRR yawn-PRIV sit-3pl-IRR

'Sit still, without yawning.'

- d. *Angkurla jamaniki-nu ngulyaj-bija.*

NEG this(m)-did lie-PRIV

'He is not honest.'

[lit. 'He is not unlying.']

- e. *Ngininiki-rni kalirnimi-rni nginduwa-jija ya-ju duwa-ardi.*

this(n)-FOC tree.species-FOC this.way-PRIV 3sg-do rise-HAB

'The *kalirnimi* tree doesn't grow around these parts.'

The privative is the only semantic case marker which ever precedes a syntactic case marker:

- (5.77) *Barnki-jija-rni ngajanarna-ju.*
 friend-PRIV-ERG see-3S.1O-do
 'That mateless guy is looking at me.'

The Privative suffix, along with its opposite the Comitative, differs from the adpositions discussed previously in this section, manifesting gender variation (a woman with no friends is *barnkijjirni*). Both morphosyntactically and semantically, /-jij-/ can be seen rather as an extension of the root which produces another noun with meanings such as 'one with no friends', 'one with no beard' et cetera. Such extensions of the root might be called 'derivational' along with the other morphemes discussed in §3.2.3 because it belongs to the domain of the root, preceding the nominal head. These suffixes are included here, however, on the grounds of their semantic contribution to the elements which host them.

5.3.3.3 Pragmatic marking

5.3.3.3.1 The Focus suffixes

Jingulu exhibits a pattern of morphologically marking discourse prominence that is quite different to anything found in adjacent or closely related languages. The Ergative, and to a lesser extent the Dative, case suffixes have come to be used as optional indicators of discourse prominence in addition to their original case-marking uses.

Just under one third of sentences collected from 1995 to 1998 were found to have morphological marking of focused elements (just under one fifth in narratives). However, sentences collected by Hale (1960) do not show even one instance of this use of the Ergative and Dative markers in some 45 pages of notes. Reporting on data collected in the late 1960s, Chadwick (1975), lists /-ni/ and /-na/ among a list of emphatic suffixes (including the suffixes /-kaji/ and /-nama/, which I identify as adverbialisers in §3.2.2, and /-nu/, which I analyse in §6.2.4 as a deictic use of a syntactic verb on nominals). Chadwick says that /-ni/ is commonly found on nominals in the locative, allative and ablative cases. My reading of the texts in Chadwick (1975) shows that non-ERG /-rni/ also frequently occurs on demonstratives, but not as frequently as in the 1995 and 1996 corpora. It appears, then, that over the last forty years /-rni/ and /-rna/ have gradually come to be used to mark discourse prominence in addition to case, now occurring commonly on all kinds of nominal and other words besides.

Some other head-marking non-Pama-Nyungan Australian languages (such as Gooniyandi, Rembarrnga and Jaminjung, the latter of which is a member of the Mindi group, as is Jingulu) also use case markers to indicate discourse functions, but the Jingulu system differs from these in two important respects. Firstly, there is evidence that the Jingulu innovation is extremely recent (the last 30–40 years). Secondly, the Jingulu system uses all core case markers, not just one particular marker, for the same function. Possible explanations for this are considered in Pensalfini (1999b).

A pragmatic ordering principle has been held to account for the choice of permissible orders in free-word-order nonconfigurational languages. According to both Mithun (1987) and Blake (1983), in these languages it is common for the phonological word which bears contrastive focus to precede other elements of the clause (not the theme(topic)-rheme(comment) structure of Eastern European languages as Austin (2001)

notes). Discourse-prominent elements in Jingulu, however, contrary to the predictions of Mithun and Blake, are almost as likely to occur clause-finally (as in (5.78a)) as clause-initially (5.78b), and can commonly be found in other positions in the clause (5.78c).

- (5.78) a. *Kirlikirlika darra-ardi jimi-rna urrbuja-rni.*
 galah eat-go that(n)-FOC galah.grass-FOC⁷
 ‘Galahs eat this grass.’
- b. *Jama-rni karriba maya-nga-yi mulyumulyubi.*
 that-FOC white.person hit-1sg-FUT cripple
 ‘I’m going to smash up that white person there.’
- c. *Ngindi-nama wumbuma-yi nganga-rni wurraka-na ya-yi.*
 this(m)-time cook-FUT meat-FOC 3pl.GEN-m 3sg-FUT
 ‘Then he’ll cook the meat for these people, he will.’
- d. *Jiminaka-rlu bikirra karriyaku jiminiki-rna,*
 this(n)-FOC grass bad(n) this(n)-FOC
 darrangku karriyaku, bundurru-jiya.
 tree bad(m) food-PRIV
 ‘This kind of grass is bad, this plant has no food on it.’

Morphological marking of focus is quite optional, and an element can be interpreted as focused whether or not it is thus marked:

- (5.79) a. *Aja(-rni) ngaba-nya-jiyimi ngininiki(-rni)?*
 what(-FOC) have-2sg-come this(n)(-FOC)
 ‘What’s this you’re bringing?’
- b. *Wawa(-rni) nguka-ju.*
 child(-FOC) cry-do
 ‘The boy is crying.’

As shown in (5.78a, d) and (5.79a), more than one word can bear morphological focus marking, as long as all the marked words have the same reference. The sentences in (5.78d), (5.79a) and (5.80) show that these marked elements need not even be adjacent to one another, as long as they are co-referent. Co-referent and adjacent nominals can form an NP constituent, requiring only one of them to bear FOC marking, usually the demonstrative if there is one, otherwise the final word ((5.78b), (5.82a)).

⁷ The gloss ‘FOC’ indicates morphologically marked discourse prominence. ‘FOC’ is an abbreviation for ‘Focus’, as the kind of prominence typically indicated is that of ‘new information’ or ‘contrastive focus’.

- (580) a. *Ngininiki-rni ibilka ya-marriyimi ngawu-mbili-rni, ngardajkalu.*
 this(n)-FOC water 3sg-DIST home-LOC-FOC big(n)
 'There was once water running here at our camp, lots of it.'
- b. *Jamaniki-rni Jiminginja-rna ngarnu jamaniki Jalyirringinja*
 this(m)-FOC skin-DAT 3sg.ACC.m this(m) skin
- ngarnu biwurla-rni.*
 3sg.ACC.m son-FOC
 'Jiminginja's son is Jalyirringinja.'

While focus marking is most commonly found on demonstratives, any word may bear a focus morpheme. These morphemes are occasionally found on non-nominals, such as verbal roots (5.81a–c), inflected verbs (5.81d–e) and adverbs (5.81f–g).

- (581) a. *Ardjuwa-rna ya-ju.*
 throw.away-FOC 3sg-do
 'He's failing, stuffing it up.'
- b. *Banybili-rni darrangku karnawunji ardbija wirri.*
 find-FOC tree lancewood mid.distance go.IMPV.sg
 'Go find a lancewood over that way.'
- c. *Walarra-ju jamaniki-rni, marliya-rna ya-ju.*
 scream-do this(m)-FOC sick-FOC 3sg-do
 'He's screaming in pain, he must be sick.'
- d. *Ngarriya-nga-nu nyinda nyinda-rlu nga-rruku-rni*
 tell-1sg-did DEM(m) DEM(m)-FOC 1sg-went-FOC
- indal ngaba-nga-nu ngunu kuyu-warlu marrinju.*
 tell.straight-1sg-did DEM(n) ANAPH(n)-pl word
 'I told you that, told you those words right.'
- e. *Nyamba-arndi-kaji nya-rriyi-rni?*
 what-INST-through 2sg-will.go-FOC
 'How will you go?'
- f. *Ilu-wurru-marriyimi larrba-rni janbara-ngka.*
 put-3pl-DIST previously-FOC nest-ALL
 'They used to put them [dead people] in trees.'
- g. *Ngunu-baju wamba-darra nangka-nga-yi Iadadayi-rni.*
 DEM(n)-pl snappy.gum-pl chop-1sg-FUT Saturday-FOC
 'I'll cut those snappy gums on Saturday.'

There seems to be a general restriction that only one referent can be associated with morphologically marked focus. A subject and an object cannot both bear focus marking. However, there are some rare instances when a clause is focused, in which case, as in (5.82a–b), each constituent in that clause bears the focus morpheme. In (5.82c), Focus marking occurs on each word within the predicate, namely the inflected verb and its object, but not the subject of the clause.

- (5.82) a. *Mindi-mi nyamirni ngirrma-mi ngayirni ngini-rni,*
1dl.Inc-IRR 2sg.ERG make-IRR 1sg.ERG that(n)-FOC

ngirrma-nya-mi-rni jiminiki-rni bambu.
make-2sg-IRR-FOC this(n)-FOC didgeridoo
'You and I will make it, you'll make it too, this didgeridoo.'

- b. *Jamaniki-rni bunbaku miyu-ngurru-nku-nu bunbaku, jamaniki-rni*
this(m)-FOC fight hit-1pl.Inc-REFL-did fight this(m)-FOC

mankiyi-rni-kaji ya-ju, bujarriya-ju.
sit-FOC-through 3sg do sulk-do
'This guy was vicious in the fight we all had, but now he's just sitting right down sulking.'

- c. *Only warlaku-rni banybila-ardi-rni ngawu-mbili-rni.*
dog-ERG find-HAB-FOC home-LOC-FOC
'Only a dog can find it in its nest.'

Discourse prominence is marked morphologically not only by /-rni/ and /-rna/, homophonous with ERG and DAT respectively, but also by /-nga/, the feminine allomorph of both ERG and DAT (see §5.3.3.1):

- (5.83) a. *Mankiyi-mindi uku-nga-mbili.*
sit-1dl.Inc humpy-FOC-LOC
'We're sitting in the humpy.'

- b. *Kirini junguma-nga-nu ngarnu, lambarra-nga ngarri-rnini.*
catfish show-1sg- did 3sg.m.ACC daughter.in.law-FOC 1sg.GEN-f
'I showed the catfish to my daughter-in-law.'

- c. *Ngaya ambaya-nga-yi Jingulu-warndi. Ngaya-rna kanya*
 1sg.NOM speak-1sg-FUT Jingulu-INST 1sg.NOM-DAT uncle

yaba-nga Jingila, ambaya-nga Jingulu ngayarni.

man-FOC Jingili speak-1sg Jingulu 1sg.ERG

'I'll talk in Jingulu. My uncle (mother's brother) was a Jingili, and that's why I speak Jingulu.'⁸

The suffix occasionally surfaces as [-rlu], most commonly on demonstratives, particularly following ERG and DAT case markers (see, for instance, (5.76a), (5.78d), and (5.81d)). This morpheme is not homophonous with any other Jingulu morpheme. The most common forms of the Focus suffix by far are homophonous with one or other form of ERG or DAT case marking itself (as with the other examples in (5.78)–(5.82)). The sentences in (5.84) show that there really are separate uses of /-rni/ as a marker of contrastive focus and as a marker of Ergative arguments, while (5.85) shows that Focus-marking /-rna/ is distinct from the Dative marker.

- (5.84) a. *Miringmi-rni darra-nga-yi bardakurri-mi.*
 gum-FOC eat-1sg-FUT good-v
 'I'll eat the sweet gum.'
- b. *Bulama-nga-nu jama-rni junma-rni.*
 miss-1sg-did that(m)-FOC wallaby-FOC
 'I missed that wallaby.'
- c. *Nyamina-rni nayurni ya-jiyimi.*
 DEM(f)-FOC woman 3sg-come
 'Here comes that woman.'
- d. *Jama-rni warlaku-rni-rni nganya ngaba-ju ngamurlu.*
 that-FOC dog-FOC-ERG fur have-do big(n)
 'That dog has long fur.'
- e. *Nganya-marri marlarluka-rni kujika-rni.*
 sing-DIST old.man(pl)-ERG song-FOC
 'The old men sang songs.'
- f. *Jalykaji ngirrma ya-marri marlarluka-rni lawa-rni.*
 woomera make 3sg-DIST old.men-ERG cattlebush-FOC
 'Olden-day folk made cattlebush woomeras.'

⁸ The use of [-nga] on a masculine nominal (*yaba*) is surprising. As a marker of ERG or DAT case, [-nga] can only ever appear on feminine nominals, and its appearance as FOC on nominals of other genders is exceedingly rare (this is one of two clear examples in the corpus). This cross-gendered use of [-nga] was not accepted in elicitation, and may be a speech error.

- g. *Darra-ardi jama-niki-rni mirdimirdi-rni, wangkulayi-rni, dirdingarnu-rni*
eat-HAB this(m)-FOC cricket-FOC crow-ERG hawk-ERG

darra-ardi walanja-rni, jurrkubadi-rni darra-ardi.
eat-HAB goanna-ERG goanna-ERG eat-HAB

'The cricket is eaten by crows and hawks—yellow goannas and plains goannas eat it too.'

In (5.84a–b), the transitive subject is clearly the first person singular, as indicated by agreement within the head-word, and the element bearing /-rni/ is the direct object.⁹ In (5.84c), the element bearing /-rni/ is the subject of an intransitive clause, which does not bear Ergative marking, as discussed in Chapter 4. In (5.84d), the word for 'dog', the transitive subject, is marked twice with /-rni/, once for focus and once for ergativity. In (5.84e–g), both the subject and the object of the transitive predicate are marked with /-rni/. Our knowledge of the world tells us it is the old men who sang the songs, and not vice versa, and so forth for the other examples.

- (585) a. *Jama-bili-rna birri-wunya-na-miki marluka-yili-rni.*
that-dl.anim-FOC visit-3dl-1O-came old.man-dl-ERG
'Those two old people came to see me yesterday.'
- b. *Dunja-ni-ngurru-nu murrkunbala-rna, dunja-ni-ngurru-nu.*
kiss-INV-1pl.Inc-did three-FOC kiss-INV-1pl.Inc-did
'They kissed us three.'

In (5.85a) the element marked with /-rna/ is construed with the Ergative subject of the clause. The word bearing /-rna/ in (5.85b) is construed with the object. Neither of these positions are associated with Dative marking.

The homophony between case and focus morphology can result in instances where it is unclear whether a particular morpheme is to be interpreted as marking focus or case. Usually (as in (5.86a–c)), there is no ambiguity with regard to subjecthood. In sentences like (5.86d–e) ambiguity can arise, though in context the ambiguity almost always disappears.

- (586) a. *Nyami-nga nayu-nga ngaba-ju kunyaku kujkarrabilarni*
DEM(f)-ERG.f/FOC woman-ERG.f/FOC have-do 2dl.ACC two(m)

bayiny-bila.
man-dl.anim
'That woman has you two men.'

⁹ There is a possible interpretation with the /rni/-marked element construed as subject: 'I, the gum, eat the good one'. However, this sentence was produced by a human speaker who was declaring her intention of eating some acacia gum which had just been collected.

- b. *Nyami-nga* *nayu-nga* *ngaba-nu* *wunyaku* *kujkarrani*
 DEM(f)-ERG.f/FOC woman-ERG.f/FOC have-did 3dl.ACC two(m)

manjala-ala.

baby-pl

'That woman had twins (two babies).'

- c. *Ngina-rni* *kijakijirni-rni* *umbuma-nganyi-nu*
 that(f)-ERG/FOC bull.ant-ERG/FOC burn-3S.2O-did

dajba-nganyi-nu *ngaanku.*

bite-3S.2O-did 2sg.ACC

'That bull ant bit you, made you itch.'

- d. *Larrba* *dirri-wurru-marri* *nyamina-rni* *burrnjawurni-rni,*
 previously eat-3pl-DIST DEM(f)-FOC plains.wanderer-FOC

larrba *marlarluka-rni.*

previously old.man(pl)-ERG

'Long ago people would eat the plains wanderer, in olden times.'

- e. *Jamaniki* *ngamurla-rni* *kijikijiba-wurru-ju* *jama-baja-rni* *yabanja-la*
 this(m) big(m)-ERG tease-3pl-do that-pl-FOC young(m)-pl

wawa-la.

child-pl

'Those big guys are annoying the little kids.' OR conceivably

'The little kids are annoying those big guys.'

In (5.86a-c), the first two words are co-referent and both are suffixed with allomorphs of /-rni/. In Jingulu, if co-referent words are also adjacent, any or all of these words can bear the appropriate case suffix (though if only one is marked it is almost always the last in sequence). In each of the above sentences, both occurrences of [-nga] might mark Ergative case, or one might be an Ergative marker and the other an indicator of contrastive focus (if the discourse permitted such an interpretation). It is most likely that the first occurrence marks focus and the second marks case, given that case is generally marked on the last element in a sequence of co-referent elements (if not all of them), and that focus-marking is most commonly found on demonstratives (see sentence (5.78b) for an example of focus-marking on a demonstrative followed by an unmarked co-referent element). They could not both be interpreted as marking contrastive focus, however, as a transitive clause requires an Ergative subject.

In (5.86d) it is only our knowledge of the world, which tells us that small fowl do not eat people, that gives the correct interpretation. The sentence in (5.86e), on the other hand, with no context to guide it, could be interpreted with either nominal as the subject, and the other a focused object, giving rise to the two possible translations

given (the verb morphology tells us that the object must be plural, but plural nominals need not be marked for plurality). Such truly ambiguous sentences are very rare and only ever ambiguous out of context.

5.3.3.2 The Emphatic suffix/particle /ma/

Emphatic /ma/, usually a suffix but also used as a particle to attract attention or to hurry the addressee along, occurs in only a very small proportion of sentences (two to three per cent of sentences):

- (5.87) a. *Jamaniki-ma kijikijiba-jkal-a langa-jija.*
 this(m)-EMPH annoy-NOML(A)-m ear-PRIV
 'He's a twerp, naughty to anyone.'
- b. *Kurraala-ma ngiji-nginyi-ju kurraku, karriyaku kurru-ju.*
 2pl.NOM-EMPH see-1dl.Exc-do 2pl.ACC bad(n) 2pl-do
 'You lot look to us like you don't feel so good.'
- c. *Ngunya-ana-mi-ma nyama-rna babirdimi!*
 give-1O-IRR-EMPH DEM-FOC yam
 'Give me that yam!'
- d. *Lalija ilma-nga-yi-ma ngunya-ana-nku!*
 tea put-1sg-FUT-EMPH give-1O-REFL
 'Give me my tea!'

Patrick McConvell (pers. comm.) suggests that the suffix /-ma/ and the exclamation *ma* are unrelated, with the exclamation being extremely widespread in Australia, and common in Kriol. The suffix is the common Gurindji and Western Mudburra emphatic/focus marker.

An element may be marked with both sentential focus and the emphatic suffix /-ma/, in which case sentential focus precedes /-ma/:

- (5.88) a. *Jama-rni-ma jajkalu-nu ngarri-na kula ngamula-kaji.*
 that-FOC-EMPH teenage.boy-did 1sg.GEN-m nephew big(m)-through
 'That boy is my nephew, the big one.'
- b. *Angkurla ngunya-rnana-ju, jama-rni-rni-ma ngaba-nya-ju.*
 NEG give-3mS.1O-do that-ERG-FOC-EMPH hold-2sg-do
 'He doesn't give to me, he holds back.'
- c. *Anyma-nga-ardi ngaya-rna-ma jangkubarni.*
 walk-1sg-go 1sg.NOM-FOC-EMPH one(m)
 'I go walking alone.'

On verbs, the EMPH suffix may either precede inflection, emphasising the root (5.89a), or follow inflection, emphasising the whole verb (5.89b).

- (5.89) a. *File maji-ma nga-nu, number 7 ilma-nga-yi.*
 file get-EMPH 1sg-did number.7 make-1sg-FUT
 'I got a file to make a 'number 7' boomerang.'
- b. *Nganga miyi-nga-yi-ma walanja, nyinawurdini.*
 meat kill-1sg-FUT-EMPH goanna echidna
 'I'll get a goanna, or an echidna.'

5.3.3.3 Vocative forms

While Jingulu does not have a productive Vocative case (the form used when calling to or directly addressing someone or something), there are Vocative forms of some kinship terms:

- (5.90) a. *lbilka biji-yirri ngarnu, bibi!* [ABS form: *biba*]
 drink follow-go.IMPV 3sg.ACC.m son.VOC
 'Go get him a drink—son!'
- b. *Nyama-rni, ngabarlikinyaka, dakaangku!* [ABS form: *ngabarlangku*]
 2sg.NOM-FOC skin.brother.VOC come.on
 'You, brother by skin, come on up here.'

The only other forms found were *kuli* 'nephew' (ABS: *kula*) and *babardi* 'older sister' (ABS: *bibirni*).

5.3.3.4 Other uses of nominal case suffixes

The only use of nominal case suffixes on non-nominals other than focus marking is the rare appearance of LOC or ALL adpositions on fully inflected verb words. This is extremely unusual, but may constitute a switch reference system, either incipient or vestigial. These constructions are discussed in §4.2.2.6.

5.3.4 (In)Definiteness

Free nominals are generally ambiguous between definite and indefinite readings. Thus the sentence in (5.91) has the four possible translations given below (plus a similar array of translations with dual and plural interpretations for the subject).

- (5.91) *Kunyarra-rni nganga darra-ju.*
 dog-ERG meat eat-do
 'The dog is eating meat.'
 OR 'The dog is eating the meat.'
 OR 'A dog is eating meat.'
 OR 'A dog is eating the meat.'

Demonstratives can also have generic readings. For instance, sentence (5.92) was uttered in the context of an elicitation session about various birds and what they eat.

- (5.92) *Ngindaniki-rni barnangka-rni angkula darrangku-mbili-rni*
 this(m)-ERG nightjar-ERG NEG tree-LOC-FOC

langanda-ardi, karalu-mbili manyan ka-ardi.
 climb-HAB ground-LOC sleep 3sg-HAB
 'The nightjar doesn't live in trees, but sleeps on the ground.'

Pronouns are almost always definite. When an object is not expressed by an overt nominal, the object is interpreted as definite, as in (5.93), and as Simpson (1991) notes for Warlpiri.

- (5.93) *Darra-nu kunyarra-rni.*
 eat-did dog-ERG
 'The dog ate it.'
 # 'The dog ate (something).'

To express 'The dog ate' in Jingulu, an overt nominal must be present: either an indefinite pronoun (see next paragraph) or the word *bundurru* 'food'.

There is a suffix, /-nayi/, by which indefinite interpretation can be forced on an overt nominal. When /-nayi/ appears on an interrogative word, an indefinite pronoun is formed. When added to *nyamba* 'what', /-nayi/ forms a word meaning 'something' or 'for some reason':

- (5.94) a. *Nyamba-nayi banybila-nga-nu.*
 what-INDEF find-1sg-did
 'I found something.'
- b. *Kunjuwa-nu nyamba-nayi lungkaru ngibi-ngurru-wa*
 swallow-did what-INDEF poison have-1pl.Inc-will.go

ngunbuluka-rni-ngka.
 doctor-FOC-ALL
 'He swallowed some poison so we took him to the hospital.'

- c. *Nyamba-nayi darra-ardi, ngurrayibi banybila-ardi bundurru-nu.*
 what-INDEF eat-HAB night find-HAB food-did
 'It eats something, it gathers its food at night.'
- d. *Nginda-niki-rni bininja-rni bujarriya-ardi, nyamba-nayi.*
 this(m)-FOC man-FOC sulk-HAB what-INDEF
 'This fellow's often sulking for some reason or other.'

Another word for 'something', also used for 'someone' is formed by adding /-nayi/ to (w)aja 'what, who':

- (595) a. *Kirda darrangku nyinma ka-ju nangka-nu murrurr dabija-jka,*
 father tree gather 3sg-do chop-did stripe hold-NOML(P)
ngamba aja-nayi karriba maya-yi.
 PURP what-INDEF whitefella hit-FUT
 'Father gathered the branches and cut some sticks with striped handles,
 something for the white guy to clap together.'
- b. *Kirda, aja-nayi nginda marliya-ju.*
 father what-INDEF DEM(m) sick-do
 'Dad has come down with something.'
- c. *Bidbidarra ngamulu, lujba-kaji wurru-marri aji-nayi.*
 coolibah big(n) burn-through 3pl-DIST who-INDEF
 'Someone burnt that big coolibah tree.'

'Somewhere' is expressed by adding /-nayi/ to (w)ajuwa 'where':

- (596) a. *Yurru bardka-ku ajuwana-nayi?*
 hide-went where-INDEF
 'You ran off and hid somewhere.'
- b. *Ngindaniki wirriwurna ya-jiyimi kuya-ardi ngindi-yi wajuwa-nayi*
 this(m) cockatiel 3sg-come face-HAB that(m)-FUT where-INDEF
dirri-ngirrik-ardi.
 eat-hunt-HAB
 'Grey parrots come around these parts somewhere feeding.'

The suffix /-nayi/ can also be added to a nominal or emphasise its indefiniteness (5.97a-c), or to a demonstrative to mean 'something' (5.97d).

- (5.97) a. *Lujbu-ngurri-yi kirnima-nayi bangkula-nga juwangka-yi-li.*
 burn-1pl.Inc-FUT spinifex-INDEF mosquito-ERG.f chase.off-FUT-???
 'We'll burn some spinifex (root) to keep the mosquitos away.'
- b. *Ngardayi wawa-nayi ngurraru-ngka, jaja-ngku.*
 give.birth-FUT child-INDEF morning-ALL wait-will.come
 'She will give birth to a child, most likely tomorrow.'
- c. *Jakilirra-rni nyanyalu ngaba-ju barungku-kaji-nayi.*
 whitewood-FOC leaf have-do hot.weather-through-INDEF
 'The whitewood keeps its leaves throughout the hot weather.'
- d. *Jama-nayi mujaka juwangka-yi.*
 that-INDEF mouse chase.off-FUT
 'They're chasing mice or something away.'

In (5.97c) the effect of /-nayi/ is to create a sense of the event happening at undefined points in time during the season referred to by the nominal.

I found one instance of /-nayi/ attached to a pronoun, which was the first person plural pronoun used to mean 'us' in the sense of 'people in general':

- (5.98) *Ngina-rni-ni Wanju-nu ngurraku-nayi ibilki-nga.*
 that(f)-ERG-FOC rain.ceremony-did 1pl.Inc.ACC-INDEF rain-DAT.f
 'The rain song cycle brings us rain.'

The indefinite suffix /-nayi/ is also used on coverbal roots or on fully inflected verbs to indicate a possible outcome or event:

- (5.99) a. *Wadi ila-nayi nga-nki-yi.*
 maybe put-INDEF 1sg-REFL-FUT
 'I might die.'
- b. *Nyambala manyan-nayi nga-yi.*
 DEM sleep-INDEF 1sg-FUT
 'I might have a sleep.'
- c. *Yayiyu, maja-nayi bininja.*
 dunno get-INDEF man
 'I don't know, she might get married.'
- d. *Jama-bila-rni-rni nyambala wunyu-nku-ju-nayi ingiyingi.*
 that(m)-dl-ERG-FOC DEM 3dl-REFL-do-INDEF fight
 'Those two might be about to fight.'

- e. *Ngurru-wa wawurru-mbili, dibij ngurru-wa ngindi-ka*
 1pl.Inc-came scrub-LOC out 1pl.Inc-came DEM(m)-PST.HAB

jaju-wa-nayi.

wait-will.go-INDEF

'We came out of the scrub, let's pause for a while before we go on perhaps.'

- f. *Angkula-kaji marlarluka-rni yarningkirni-nayi ya-marri, ngaja-nayi*
 NEG-through old.men-FOC bilby-INDEF 3sg-DIST see-INDEF

ya-marri.

3sg-DIST

'Not at all since the old folks' times have we been able to see any bilbies.'

As expected, /-nayi/ cannot attach to nominals which have a unique referent (placenames etc.). The sole exception is that it can attach to nominals referring to heavenly bodies (sun, moon, specific stars), in which case the implication is that the referent is not visible at the reference time of the utterance:

- (5.100) *Bardangkarra-nayi duwa-ju.*
 moon-INDEF rise-do
 'I think the moon might be rising.'
 OR 'The moon is about to rise.'

The indefinite suffix /-nayi/ can also attach to the Negative element *angkula*, to express negative modality. The examples in (5.101) are repeated from §4.1.7.

- (5.101) a. *Angkula-nayi manyan nga-yi, langa-mbila nga-ju.*
 NEG-INDEF sleep 1sg-FUT ear-LOC 1sg-do
 'I can't sleep, I'm thinking.'
- b. *Angkula-nayi manyan duka-nga-yi, lawu-nayi ngaya.*
 NEG-INDEF go.to.sleep-1sg-FUT awake-INDEF 1sg.NOM
 'I don't want to go to sleep, I want to stay awake.'
- c. *Angkula-nayi manyan nga-yi.*
 NEG-INDEF sleep 1sg-FUT
 'I'm not allowed to sleep.'

A rarely used suffixed, /-kini/, appears to indicate indefiniteness in a negative context. Attached to demonstratives, it creates a demonstrative with negative quantificational force similar to 'no one' or 'nothing'. The examples in (5.102) are repeated from §4.1.5.2.

- (5.102) a. *Angkula ngaba-nya-jiyimi ngarru nyamba-kini.*
 NEG have-2sg-come 1sg.ACC what-NEG.INDEF
 'You didn't bring me anything.'
- b. *Angkula ngaba-miki ngarru nyamba-kini kiwirra.*
 NEG have-came 1sg.ACC what-NEG.INDEF none
 'No one brought me anything.'

5.3.5 Structure of nominals – review

The maximal Jingulu nominal has the linear morpheme order indicated in (5.103).

- (5.103) root-PRIV/ – gender – number/ – core.case- FOC – adposition – FOC- EMPH/
 –COMIT – animacy – time

No nominals with all of the above suffixes were actually found, although some very heavily suffixed nominals were indeed found:

- (5.104) a. *jimi-la-niki-rni-rni*
 that(m)-pl-PROX-ERG-FOC
 'these ones' [transitive subject]
- b. *jiyi-rni-nika-ngkujku-la-rni-rni*
 CAT-FOC-PROX-HAVING-pl-ERG-FOC
 'Those who were with these (people)' [transitive subject]
- c. *nyama-baji-rna-rni-rni*
 DEM(m)-pl-DAT-ERG-FOC
 'their ones' [transitive subject]
- d. *marlarluka-rni-mbili-nama*
 old.man(RED)-FOC-LOC-time
 'in the days of the old folk'

As suggested in (5.103), focus marking can either precede or follow adpositions, depending on whether contrastive focus is borne by the nominal's referent alone or the entire adpositional proposition represented by the affixed nominal:

- (5.105) a. *Dardu buliki ya-ju, nginda ngawu-mbili-rni dardu buliki.*
 many cow 3sg-do that(m) camp-LOC-FOC many cow
 'There's a lot of cows over there **by the station.**'

- b. *Mankiya-kaji nga-yi ngini-mbili-rni, kardarda mankiya-kaji*
 sit-through 1sg-FUT that(n)-LOC-FOC always sit-through
nga-yi.
 1sg-FUT
 'I'll stay **here**, forever I'll stay.'
- c. *Mankiyi-mindi uku-nga-mbili.*
 sit-1dl.Inc humpy-FOC-LOC
 'We're sitting in the **humpy**.'
- d. *Burdbu-ngurri-yi jamaniki-rni ngumbuluka-rni-ngka burdbu-ngurri-yi*
 send-1pl.Inc this(m)-FOC doctor-FOC-ALL send-1pl.Inc
lakarr maja-ni-nku-nu jarrumulu.
 break-INV-REFL-did thigh
 'We had to take him to the **doctor** because he broke his leg.'
- e. *Anuku-kaji nyu-rriyi nginda Warranganku-ngka-rni?*
 how-through 2sg-will.go that(m) Beetaloo-ALL-FOC
 'How will you get **to Beetaloo**?'
- f. *Angkula maja-nga-nu nginda-rni, darndiyi-rni nyambala,*
 NEG get-1sg-did that(m)-FOC rat-ERG DEM(n)
ngawu-ngkami-rni yabanja nginda-rni darndiya-ngku
 home-ABL-FOC small(m) that(m)-ERG rat-came
juwangka-yi.
 chase.off-FUT
 'I couldn't get the rats **out of my house**. The little blighters kept on coming in and I couldn't scare them off.'
- g. *Mungkurja-rni-ngkami miji-ngurru-wa laju.*
 turpentine-FOC-ABL get-1pl.Inc-will.go grub
 'We'll go get witchetty grubs from the **turpentine tree**.'

The bold type in the translations indicates the difference in contrastive focus. For example, in (a) the entire adpositional proposition 'at/by the station' is focused, whereas in (d), the focus is only on 'doctor', not on the phrase 'to the doctor'.

6 *The verb complex*

The verb complex is the heart of a Jingulu sentence, containing all of the syntactically essential information in a sentence, and thus a sentence may consist of the verb complex alone. The complex is most commonly found forming a phonological word with a coverbal root, but can also stand alone as a phonological word. In general terms, the complex minimally consists of three morphemes: subject agreement, object agreement, and the core verb—in that order. Various of these are omitted in various environments, some agreement markers are null, and other environments will trigger fusion of some of these slots into a single morpheme.

6.1 Argument marking

6.1.1 Subject agreement

(6.1) <u>meaning</u>	<u>gloss</u>	<u>morpheme</u>	<u>allomorphs</u>
I	1sg	/nga-/	[nga-]
me and you	1dl.Inc	/mind-/	[mindi-], [mindu-], [minda-]
me and that person	1dl.Exc	/nginy-/	[nginyi-], [nginyu-], [nginya-], [nginji-], [nginju-], [nginja-]
us all (including you)	1pl.Inc	/ngurr-/	[ngurri-], [ngurru-], [ngurra-]
us all (not including you)	1pl.Exc	/ngirr-/	[ngirri-], [ngirru-], [ngirra-], [nyirri-], [nyirru-], [nyirra-]
you (singular)	2sg	/nya-/	[nya-], [nyu-]
you two	2dl	/kunyi-/	[kunyi-], [kunyu-], [kunya-]

	2dl.IMPV	/wanyi-/	[(w)anyi-], [(w)anya-], [(w)anyu-]
you all	2pl	/kurri-/	[kurri-], [kurru-], [kurra-], [kirri-], [kirru-], [kirra-]
	2pl.IMPV	/warri-/	[(w)arri-], [(w)arra-], [(w)arru-]
him, her, it, that	3sg	/Ø/ /ya-/	Ø [ya-], [ka-]
those two	3dl	/wunyi-/	[(w)unyi-], [(w)unya-], [(w)unyu-]
them all	3pl	/wurri-/	[(w)urri-], [(w)urra-], [(w)urru-]

Subject agreement varies according to both the person and number, but not the gender, of the subject. There may be some 'disagreement' between the morphology and the number of the subject, in accordance with the principles discussed in §5.3.2.2. Subject agreement forms are given in (6.1) with examples in (6.2).

Each non-singular subject marker has allomorphs ending in each of the three vowels /i/, /u/, and /a/. The choice of allomorph is dependent on the following affix, with the /i/ form most commonly chosen if subject agreement is the last overt affix in the word. For a full description of this alternation see §2.5.1.

The two morphemes encoding third person singular subjects are in complementary distribution, the choice depending on the prosodic status of the verb complex. If the verb complex is an independent phonological word, then the overt third person marker /ya-/ or /ka-/ is used (6.2j-k), but if the verb complex forms a word with a coverbal root, then third person subjects receive null marking (6.2i).

- (62) a. *Kararlū ngaba-nga-ju bilyingbiyaku marndamarnda-mbili.*
 ground have-1sg-do red.sand hand-LOC
 'I have red dust on my hands.'
- b. *Mindiyila imbiyi-mindi-ju Jingulu.*
 1dl.Inc.NOM speak-1dl.Inc-do Jingulu
 'We two are speaking Jingulu.'
- c. *Nyinda-bila nyini-mbili mankiyi-nginyi-wardi.*
 that(m)-dl.anim here sit-1dl.Exc-HAB
 'We two live here.'

- d. *Yurriyi-ngurri-yi jalyangkumu.*
 play-1pl.Inc-FUT today
 'Let's play today.'
- e. *Ngarrabaja-mi jamaniki-rni marliyi-ngirri-ju.*
 tell-IRR this(m)-FOC sick-1pl.Exc-do
 'Tell that person that we're sick.'
- f. *Anikiya-nya-ju kirda?*
 do.what-2sg-do father
 'What are you doing, Dad?'
- g. *Dirri-kunyu-nu bundurru-nu burrbiji.*
 eat-2dl-did food-did finish
 'You two ate up all that food.'
- h. *Ambaya-nga-nu dakarni nyambala—kurru-ju larringku-kurru-nu?*
 speak-1sg-did just.there DEM(n) 2pl-do understand-2pl-did
 'I'm done saying that now—did you lot understand?'
- i. *Kalyarra(-Ø)-ardi ngawu nyami-nga yalbawurru-nga-rni.*
 dig(-3sg)-HAB home DEM-ERG.f bilby-ERG.f-FOC
 'The bilby digs a home.'
- j. *Bukbali ya-ju.*
 blowing 3sg-do
 'The wind is blowing.'
- k. *Jama-niki-rni naya ajan ka-ju biyangka kumungku-mbili.*
 this(m)-FOC stand standing 3sg-do behind back-LOC
 'There's someone standing behind you.'
- l. *Kanba ijinku-wunyu-ju.*
 equal stand-3dl-do
 'Those two are of equal size.'
- m. *Murrkun-bala dinkiyi-wurru-nu.*
 three-pl.anim lost-3pl-did
 'The three of them got lost.'

The choice between [-ya] and [-ka] for overt third person subject marking depends on the preceding segment in the clause. If the preceding segment is a consonant (which usually means that the preceding word is an adverb, since almost all consonant-final words are adverbs), [-ka] is preferred (as in (6.2k) and (6.3a–b)), but if the preceding segment is a vowel, [-ya] is preferred (as in (6.2j) and (6.3a, c–d)). However, speakers accepted either variant in both environments.

- (63) a. *Ngindaniki bala ya-ardi balyab ka-ardi darrangku-mbili*
 this(m) tree.lizard 3sg-HAB alongside 3sg-HAB tree-LOC
kurlungkurla, kunanga darra-ardi.
 small(m) fly eat-HAB
 'The little tree lizard sits right up alongside small sticks and eats flies.'
- b. *Jangkiyi diyim ka-ju walanybili.*
 high flying 3sg-do pelican
 'The pelican flies high.'
- c. *Kararlu jimi-nu yalalawura ya-ju.*
 ground that(n)-did¹ crack 3sg-do
 'The ground here is cracked.'
- d. *Kiwarlija ya-rruku nginiwa.*
 snake 3sg-went this.way
 'A snake went this way.'

This alternation is in accordance with the phonotactic constraints set out in §2.2 (/y/ cannot be the second consonant in a cluster, while /k/ can), which suggests that phonotactic constraints on permissible clusters prefer to be observed across word boundaries as well as within words wherever possible.

Second person non-singular agreement has special forms which are only (and optionally) used with /-mi/ imperatives, as shown in (6.4). These forms, /wanyi-/ and /warri-/, are more similar to the regular third person non-singular agreement forms than to the regular second person forms. Similar behaviour for agreement in imperatives is attested in other languages. For instance, some verbal forms of the Imperative in Italian are similar to the third person indicative. As noted in §2.4.2.2, these forms do not induce vowel harmony, unlike other non-singular subject agreement morphemes, as their first vowel is not [+high].

- (6.4) a. *Yabanju maja-wanyu-mi dunjuwa-kaji wanyu-mi!*
 small(n) get-2dl.IMPV-IRR burn-through 2dl-IRR
 'You two get a little fire going.'
- b. *Marndamarnda maya-arru-nku-mi!*
 hand hit-2pl.IMPV-REFL-IRR
 'Clap your hands!'
- c. *Arduku-nama jaja-arru-mi!*
 slow-time wait-2pl.IMPV-IRR
 'Wait for me, you mob!'

¹ Note the appearance of /-nu/ (glossed 'did') on *jimi* ('that') in this example. Morphemes typically used to mark tense (along with aspect, mood, and associated motion), and analysed in this grammar as verbal heads (see Chapter 3), sometimes appear on nominals with deictic function. This is discussed in §6.2.4.

6.1.2 Object agreement

Object agreement generally follows subject agreement and agrees with the person of the verb's object:

(6.5)	<u>meaning</u>	<u>gloss</u>	<u>form</u>	<u>allomorphs</u>
	me, us	1O	/-ana-/	[-ana-], [-na-]
	you	2O	/-nyu-/	[-nyu-], [-nyi-], [-nya-]
	him, her, it, that	–	Ø	Ø

Examples of these morphemes in use are given in (6.6).

As (6.5) shows, the object agreement markers do not vary for number. This is common to the agreement paradigms of all the Western Barkly languages (see Nordlinger 1998a on Wambaya, for example). There is a means of encoding the number of the object in the agreement complex, and this is the Inverse construction, discussed in §6.1.3.3. The resultant avoidance of two consecutive non-singular agreement markers is reminiscent of the pattern in the Yapa languages of avoiding two dual markers (some dialects of Warlpiri) or one dual and one plural marker (Warlmanpa, the other dialect of Warlpiri—Ken Hale, pers. comm.). This property is not found in the clearly head-marking prefixing languages to the north.

It would be wrong to say that third person objects never trigger agreement in Jingulu, as some of the fused forms discussed in §6.1.3.2 below involve agreement with a third person object. It is more accurate to say instead that the third person object marker, like one of the allomorphs of the third person subject marker, is null. This is quite usual among Australian languages which have agreement of this sort. All of the examples in (6.6) involve coverbal roots and third person singular subjects, and therefore subject agreement is null.

- (6.6) a. *Nyami-rni ngamula-rni jangan juwa-ana-mi.*
 DEM(m)-ERG big-ERG push-1O-IRR
 'That big bloke pushed me out of the way.'
- b. *Kurrala dardu-wala ngaja-nya-nu nganku.*
 2pl.NOM mob see-2O-did 2sg.ACC
 'She saw you mob.'
- c. *Jimi-rna ngilma(-Ø-Ø)-rdi wukurni.*
 this-FOC make(-3sg-3O)-go humpy
 'That one makes a nest on the ground.'

Jingulu verbs which translate English ditransitive verbs generally involve at least one object which is in the third person and therefore would only trigger null agreement in any case. As discussed in §4.1.6, object agreement is with the non-third person object, whether direct or indirect. In order to determine whether there are two object agreement slots or, if only there is only one object agreement slot, whether it represents the direct or indirect object, we must examine clauses with two objects, both of which are in either first or second person. Such constructions

are studiously avoided in Jingulu, and I was not able to elicit such clauses. When I attempted to elicit first and second person objects of 'give', speakers gave only forms with *burdb-* ('send'), which is not a double object verb.

6.1.3 Combined subject and object agreement

The complete agreement paradigm for subject and object combinations is as given in Table 6.1. At first glance the paradigm seems confusing, but all the possibilities are derived from a few simple principles which are discussed in the following subsections.

Table 6.1: Combined subject and object agreement forms

subject	1Obj	2Obj	3Obj
1sg	/nga-/	/nginyi-/	/nga-/
1dInc	/mindi-/	/mindi-nyu-/	/mindi-/
1dExc	/nginyi-/	/nginyi-nyu-/	/nginyi-/
1plInc	/ngurri-/	/ngurri-nyu-/	/ngurri-/
1plExc	/ngirri-/	/ngirri-nyu-/	/ngirri-/
2sg	/nya-na-/ /nganjanya-/ /nginyi-/	/nya-/	/nya-/
2dI	/kunyi-na-/	/kunyi-/	/kunyi-/
2pl	/kurri-na-/	/kurri-/	/kurri-/
3sg	/ka-na-/ /ya-na-/ /nama-/	/ka-nyu-/ /ya-nyu-/ /nimi-/	Ø /ka-/ /ya-/
3dI	/wunyi-na-/	/wunyi-nyu-/	/wunyi-/
3pl	/wurri-na-/	/wurri-nyu-/	/wurri-/

Plus the Inverse strategy, discussed in §6.1.3.3

Jingulu has three means for encoding agreement with transitive predicates. The first simply involves filling both subject and object agreement slots (the sentences in (6.6) arguably involve this method, but there subject agreement is null). When the person of the subject and object is the same (but the number is different, so that subject and object are not co-referential) this is not allowed, and object agreement is omitted. The second method is to use suffixes which encode information about both subject and object but which cannot be broken down into constituent morphemes. These are available only for some specific person/number combinations. The third method involves the inverse marker /-ni-/, which signifies that the following element, normally used as a subject agreement morpheme, is functioning as object agreement. Each of these strategies is discussed in turn in the following sub-sections.

6.1.3.1 Filling nodes individually

Both subject and object slots can be overtly filled in a single complex. Concatenation of the morphemes described in the previous two sections yields the logical possibilities given in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2: Combinations of agreement morphemes

	1Obj	2Obj
1sg	*/nga-na-/	*/nga-nyu-/
1dInc	*/mindina-/	/mindi-nyu-/
1dExc	*/nginyi-na-/	/nginyi-nyu-/
1plInc	*/ngurri-na-/	/ngurri-nyu-/
1plExc	*/ngirri-na-/	/ngirri-nyu-/
2sg	/nya-na-/	*/nya-nyu-/
2dl	/kunyi-na-/	*/kunyi-nyu-/
2pl	/kurri-na-/	*/kurri-nyu-/
3sg	/ka-na-/ /ya-na-/	/ka-nyu-/ /ya-nyu-/
3dl	/wunyi-na-/	/wunyi-nyu-/
3pl	/wurri-na-/	/wurri-nyu-/

Of the above, not all are found. The starred combinations are never found, and were rejected by speakers. For combinations of first person subject with first person object, or of second person subject with second person object, Jingulu uses only a subject marker, with overt nominal adjuncts used to make the reference of the object clear if necessary, as illustrated in (6.7). These rather odd sentences were elicited from speakers using a role-play in which the focus was a photograph of a large group of people, including the speaker and addressee. Note the extensive use of clause-peripheral dislocated nominals to establish and clarify reference. The one remaining starred combination, first person singular subject and second person object, is expressed by a single fused morpheme, as discussed in the next section.

- (6.7) a. *Nginda, ngaya, ngaja-nga-ju.*
 DEM(m) 1sg.NOM see-1sg-do
 'I see him and me.' [this meaning only extractable from context]

- b. *Ngaja-nga-nu bininja, nyami-rni, ngaya.*
 see-1sg-did man 2sg.NOM-FOC 1sg.NOM
 'I saw the man and me and you.'
- c. *Ngindi-rni ngiji-nginyu-nu, ngaya.*
 DEM(m)-ERG see-1dl.Exc-did 1sg.NOM
 'He and I saw me.'
- d. *Murrkun-bala, ngaya, nginyi-ila, ngiji-ngirru-nu.*
 three-pl.anim 1sg.NOM DEM(m)-dl see-1pl.Exc-did
 'Those two and I saw me.'
- e. *Dardu-wala ngiji-ngurru-nu ngardajkalu, burrbiji, ngurraala.*
 mob see-1pl.Inc-did big(n) finish 1pl.Inc.NOM
 'We saw all of us.' [not reflexive: subject is a subset of object]
- f. *Dardu-wala ngiji-ngirru-nu.*
 mob see-1pl.Exc-did
 'He and I saw all of us.'
- g. *Murrkun-bala ngiji-nginyu-nu.*
 three-pl.anim see-1dl.Exc-did
 'He and I saw ourselves and someone else.'
- h. *Ngiji-nginyu-nu nyami-ni ngaya.*
 see-1dl.Exc-did 2sg.NOM-FOC 1sg.NOM
 'He and I saw me and you.'
- i. *Ngiji-ngurru-nu murrkun-bala-rni.*
 see-1pl.Inc-did three-pl.anim-ERG
 'We three saw us two.'
- j. *Murrkun-bala ngiji-ngirru-nu ngurraku.*
 three-pl.anim see-1pl.Exc-did 1pl.Inc.ACC
 'He and I and someone else saw me and you and him.'
- k. *Nyama, nginda ngaja-nya-ju nganku.*
 2sg.NOM DEM(m) see-2sg-do 2sg.ACC
 'You can see yourself and him.'

The sentences in (6.8) show that all other combinations of subject and object agreement occupying separate nodes are found.

- (6.8) a. *Dirrk biji-kunya-ana-nu nginyaku, ngaba-kaji nya-na-rruku*
 pull-2dl-1O-did 1dl.Exc.ACC have-through 2sg-1O-went
nginyaku ngawu-ngka.
 1dl.Exc.ACC home-ALL
 'You two picked us two up and you took us home.'
- b. *Kuyanganama mirrirdimi-kurra-na-yi mujkiya-nga-marri.*
 previously teach-2pl-1O-FUT forget-1sg-DIST
 'I've forgotten, you must teach me again.'
- c. *Miyi-wunya-ana-nu lilingbi.*
 hit-3dl-1O-did hurt
 'Those two hit me and hurt me.'
- d. *Juwirri-miyi-nu budujuwi-wurra-ana-rruku.*
 follow-hit-did let.go-3pl-1O-went
 'They followed me, captured me and then let me go.'
- e. *Nyamarni ngayarni ngiji-mindi-nyu-ju nganku.*
 2sg.ERG 1sg.ERG see-1dl.Inc-2O-do 2sg.ACC
 'You and I can see you [in a photograph].'
- f. *Ngarluju-kaji miyi-nginyu-nyu-ju-rru.*
 even-through hit-1dl.Exc-2O-do-RRR
 'We two hit you as punishment.'
- g. *Ngiji-ngirri-nyu-nu nganku.*
 see-1pl.Exc-2O-did 2sg.ACC
 'He and she and I saw you.'
- h. *Jama-bili-rni-rni ngiji-wunyu-nyu-ju nganku.*
 that(m)-dl.anim-ERG-FOC see-3dl-2O-do 2sg.ACC
 'Those two can see you.'
- i. *Kunyuurlu nyambala-nayi miyi-wurru-nyu-ju kunyaku.*
 2dl.NOM DEM(n)-INDEF hit-3pl-2O-do 2dl.ACC
 'You and someone else, they hit you two as well.'

In many languages that have both subject and object agreement marking, combinations of first person non-singular inclusive subject and second person object are ruled out (e.g. Warlpiri and Navajo — Ken Hale, pers. comm.). These combinations should incur a violation of the binding principles that require a reflexive or reciprocal construction if subject and object are co-referent, as one of the referents of the subject is the hearer, who in turn is the referent (or one of the referents) of the object. However, as Finer (1984) notes with respect to switch reference, languages differ from one another in their definitions of co-reference. Some languages (Warlpiri and Navajo would be among these) consider overlapping reference sufficient for

co-reference, while other languages, including Jingulu, require complete co-reference (see §6.1.4 for a discussion of the conditions on co-reference for use of the reflexive suffix).

6.1.3.2 Fused agreement forms

Jingulu also has a number of fused agreement forms, where a single morpheme encodes information about both subject and object. The forms are given in (6.9), with examples of their use in (6.10). Note that these forms exist alongside the strategies outlined in the previous section, and the choice between using separate subject and object agreement morphemes or these fused agreement markers appears to be free, though the fused forms are more common.

(6.9)	<u>meaning</u>	<u>gloss</u>	<u>morpheme</u>	<u>allomorphs</u>
	third person masculine/neuter subject			
	first person object	3mS.1O	/narna-/	[narna-], [rnana-]
	third person feminine/vegetable subject			
	first person object	3fS.1O	/ngarna-/	[ngarna-], [ngana-]
	third person subject second person object	3S.2O	/nirni-/ /nganyi-/	[nirni-], [-rnini-] [nganyi-]
	second person subject first person object	2sgS.1O	/nganjanya-/	[nganjanya-], [nganjana-]
	first singular subject second person object	1sgS.2O	/nginyi-/	[nginyi-], [nginyu-] ²
and	second singular subject first person object	2sgS.1O		

There are distinct forms for third person subjects acting on first person objects depending on the gender of the subject. This is the only instance in the Jingulu agreement system where gender influences choice of morpheme. The morpheme /ngarna-/ is used when the subject belongs to one of the two marked and smaller genders, feminine or vegetable, while the morpheme /narna-/ is used if the subject belongs to one of the larger masculine or neuter classes.

² Note homophony with 1dI.Exc subject agreement marker. According to Chadwick (1975), the 1dI.Inc subject marker /mind-/- may also be used to represent a combination first person singular subject and second person singular object or second person singular subject and first person singular object. I found no such examples, and speakers rejected /mind-/- in such cases if offered.

- (6.10) a. *Naya-nga-nu budunarrimi langa nungka-ngarna-nu.*
 step.on-1sg-did bindii(v) pierce-3fS.1O-did
 'I stepped on a bindii and it pricked me.'
- b. *Biba ngarri-na langa mila-narna-ju.*
 son(m) 1sg.GEN-m think-3mS.1O-do
 'My son must be thinking of me.'
- c. *Dul maya-ngarna-nu burdumi.*
 kick-3fS.1O-did bottom
 'She kicked me in the bum.'
- d. *Mundarla-nga umbuma-ngarna-nu*
 scorpion-ERG.f sting-3fS.1O-did
 'The scorpion stung me.'
- e. *Ngangi-rni kardbaja-narna-ju ngangi-rni kanyburru-warndi!*
 meat(m)-FOC choke-3mS.1O-do meat-FOC beef-INST
 'I'm choking on beef!'
- f. *Ngiji-wunyu-nu ngiji-ngarna-nu ngirraku ngaya*
 see-3dl-did see-3fS.1O-did 1pl.Exc.ACC 1sg.NOM
ngunu-mbili-kaji.
 DEM(n)-LOC-through
 'Those two [women] saw me and him over there.'
- g. *Dinja-nirni-nu nganku.*
 kiss-3S.2O-did 2sg.ACC
 'He kissed you.'
- h. *Ngaja-rnini-ju kurraku.*
 see-3S.2O-do 2pl.ACC
 'He sees you all.'
- i. *Ngaaku ngunyi-nginyi-yi nganku ngalajku-nu.*
 later give-1sgS.2O-FUT 2sg.ACC exchange-did
 'I'll give you something back for that.'
- j. *Angkula langkaj nya-yi ngarru, kilimi miyi-nginyi-yi nganku.*
 NEG listen 2sg-FUT 1sg.ACC nose hit-1sgS.2O-FUT 2sg.ACC
 'If you don't listen to me I'll punch you in the nose.'
- k. *Angkula winymila-nya-yi kardkumili-nginyi-yi.*
 NEG be.quiet-2sg-FUT choke-1sgS.2O-FUT
 'If you don't shut up, I'll choke you.'

- l. *Ngayirni miyi-nginyi-nga-nu Nangala darrangku-warndi.*
 1sg.ERG hit-1sgS.2O-1sg-did skin.name stick-INST
 'I hit you and Nangala with my stick.'
- m. *Ngaja-nganjanya-ju nyinda.*
 see-2sgS.1O-do DEM(m)
 'You can see him and me.'
- n. *Angkula marndaj lankaj bili-nginyu-ju ambaya-nga-ju,*
 NEG OK hear-2sgS.1O-do talk-1sg-do

angkula jankijba-nga-ju nganku.
 NEG understand-1sg-do 2sg.ACC
 'You don't hear me talk, and I don't understand you.'
- o. *Nginda-rni milyamilya ya-nu. Nyambala maya-nganjana-ju,*
 DEM(m)-FOC late 3sg-did DEM(n) hit-2sgS.1O-do

nyamba-ngkami?
 DEM-ABL
 'He was late. That's why you hit us?'
- p. *Ngina-rni kijakija-nga umbuma-nganyi-nu dajba-nganyi-nu*
 that(f)-FOC bull.ant-ERG.f burn-3S.2O-did bite-3S.2O-did

nganku.
 2sg.ACC
 'That bull ant bit you, made you itch.'

Fused agreement nodes containing high vowels (/nirni-/ and /nginyi-/) trigger harmony for some speakers but not for others. See §2.4 for a full discussion of harmony.

6.1.3.3 The Inverse construction

In both of the commonly used methods of expressing features of the clausal object discussed above (independent object marking and fused subject-object marking) the number of the object is always indeterminate. For example *mayanganjanu* (6.10o) can be translated as 'you (singular) hit me' or 'you (singular) hit us (dual or plural, inclusive or exclusive)'. Usually this is clarified either from the context alone or by the use of free accusative pronouns, but there also exists a means of morphologically specifying the number features of the object in the inflectional complex. This is achieved by the use of what are normally subject agreement markers (given in (6.1)) to refer to the object. The inverse morpheme /-ni-/ is inserted immediately after the coverbal root, and indicates that the agreement marker which follows it actually refers to the object. No subject marking is possible in such a construction, and subjects must be third person (any number). This construction is illustrated in (6.11).

- (6.11) a. *Dajba-ni-ngirru-nu murrkunbala karruji-rni.*
 bite-INV-1pl.Exc-did three.people spider-ERG
 'The spider bit the three of us (not you).'
- b. *Dunjka-ni-ngurru-nu murrkunbala-rna, dunjka-ni-ngurru-nu.*
 kiss-INV-1pl.Inc-did three-FOC kiss-INV-1pl.Inc-did
 'They kissed us three.'
- c. *Dunjka-ni-kurru-nu.*
 kiss-INV-2pl-did
 'They kissed you lot.'
- d. *Ngiji-ni-mindu-ju bininja-rni mindaku.*
 see-INV-1dl.Inc-do man-ERG 1dl.Inc.ACC
 'The man sees you and me.'
- e. *Dardu-wala-rni maja-ni-ngurru-ju wajbala-rni.*
 many.people-ERG get-INV-1pl.Exc-do whitefella-ERG
 'Lots of white people took photos of us.'
- f. *Warlaku marrimarra, dajba-ni-ngurru-mi.*
 dog cheeky(m) bite-INV-1pl.Inc-IRR
 'That dog's cheeky, it might bite us.'

The variety of ways of saying 'He doesn't like us' illustrated in (6.12) show that /-ni-/ is incompatible with overt subject agreement (6.12d), as well as being phonologically a suffix and therefore unable to begin a phonological word (6.12e). Forms with /-ni-/ are entirely equivalent to forms which use third person subject agreement and number unspecified object agreement (6.12a, c). Inverse marking is only permitted when the subject is third person and the object is non-singular (see (6.12f)).

- (6.12) a. *Jirdad ngaja-rnana-ju (ngurraku).*
 dislike see-3S.1O-do (1pl.Inc.ACC)
 'He doesn't like us.'
- b. *Jirdad ngaja-ni-ngurru-ju.*
 dislike see-INV-1pl.Inc-do
 'He doesn't like us.'
- c. *Jirdad ka-ju (ngurraku).*
 dislike 3sg-do (1pl.Inc.ACC)
 'He doesn't like us.'
- d. **Jirdad ka-ni-ngurru-ju.*
 dislike 3sg-INV-1pl.Inc-do
 'He doesn't like us.'

- e. **Jirdad ni-ngurru-ju.*
dislike INV-1pl.Inc-do
'He doesn't like us.'

- f. **Maja-ni-nga-nu.*
hit-INV-1sg-did
'He hit me.'

Some speakers allowed Inverse marking with third person non-singular objects, as in (6.13).

- (6.13) *Nginda-baja dajba-ni-wurru-nu wurraku.*
that(m)-pl bite-INV-3pl-did 3pl.ACC
'It bit those guys.'

Most speakers, however, required the object to be first or second person, and rejected verb forms such as that in (6.13).

The Inverse morpheme /-ni-/ (allomorphs [-ni-], [-rni-], [-na-]) is not a passive morpheme. First of all, as (6.11a, d, e) show, there is no effect on the case marking of overt nominals: nominals construed with the agent of a transitive predicated still bear ERG case-marking (INST if inanimate). Secondly, the agent of an inverse construction can still be construed as definite even if not overtly mentioned (as shown in (6.11b-c) and (6.12a-c), and contrary to the implied agent in English passives like 'The boy was struck'). Chadwick (1975) calls /-ni-/ a transitivity suffix, though the morpheme is found only with coverbal roots that can already have objects without /-ni-/, and thus are already transitive. The suffix therefore does not alter their argument structure at all, and so does not seem to fit the label 'transitivity'.

The morpheme also co-occurs with the reflexive, when the subject is third person singular:

- (6.14) a. *Jamaniki wurrijiya-ni-nku-ju kilalija jaarndama-jija.*
this(m) shave-INV-REFL-do clean(m) whiskers-PRIV
'He shaves (himself) and has no whiskers.'
- b. *Jamaniki-rni warlaku-rni lakarr maja-ni-nku-nu bardbala.*
this(m)-FOC dog-ERG break-INV-REFL-did ankle
'That dog broke its ankle.'
- c. *Burdbu-ngurri jamaniki-rni ngumbuluka-rni-ngka burdbu-ngurri-yi*
send-1pl.Inc this(m)-FOC doctor-FOC-ALL send-1pl.Inc-FUT
lakarr maja-ni-nku-nu jarrumulu.
break-INV-REFL-did thigh
'We had to take him to the doctor because he broke his leg.'

- d. *Ila ngaja-mi wardiyidba-ni-nku-ju wawa.*
 watch-IRR spin-INV-REFL-do child
 'The children are spinning around.'
- e. **Wawa wulukaja-nku-ju.* (versus the grammatical *wulukaja-ni-nku-ju*)
 child wash-REFL-do wash-INV-REFL-do
 'The child is washing herself.'

Sentence (6.14d) shows that singular number need not be underlying but can result from disagreement (see §5.3.2.2, especially around (5.54)). The subject is understood as plural from the context, but no plural marking occurs in the verb complex or on the nominal construed with the subject. Most speakers gave the judgment indicated by sentence (6.14e), whereby the Inverse marker is obligatory with third person singular subjects of reflexives. However, most speakers did occasionally produce sentences with a third person singular reflexive subject (null subject agreement and reflexive /-nku-/) without the inverse marker, contrary to this judgment.

The Jingulu Inverse is similar to constructions labelled 'Inverse' in Ngandi and Nunggubuyu (Heath 1978, 1984—the Nunggubuyu inverse marker is, in fact, /-n-/), wherein morphology that is normally reserved for subject marking is used to mark the clausal object without altering the syntax of the clause. Like the Jingulu inverse marker, the Inverse morphemes that Heath described are used when the subject is lower on some hierarchy than the object is (where third person is lower than first or second persons).

6.1.4 Reflexive and reciprocal constructions

Both reflexive ('A did X to herself/himself/itself') and reciprocal ('A and B did X to each other) meanings are achieved in Jingulu by using the morpheme /-nku-/ (glossed 'REFL', allomorphs [-nku-], [-nki-], [-nka-]) in place of object agreement. Examples are given in (6.15).

- (6.15) a. *Jama-baja-rna yabanja-ala irrk bil-urru-nku-nu.*
 that-pl-m-FOC young.man-pl paint-3pl-REFL-did
 'All the young men have painted each other up.'
- b. *Bunka-kaji wurru-nku-rra-ju.*
 leave-through 3pl-REFL-RRA-do
 'They went their separate ways.' [lit. 'They left one another.']
- c. *Barlunma nga-nku-ju.*
 lonely(m) 1sg-REFL-do
 'I'm lonely.'
- d. *Wardka-nga-nu darrangku-ngkami lakarr maja-nga-nku-nu ngalirrilirrirdi.*
 fall-1sg-did tree-ABL break-1sg-REFL-did collarbone
 'I fell out of a tree and broke my collarbone.'

- e. *Jama-bila-rna warlaku-yila bulurrbu-wunyu-nku-ju.*
 that-dl.anim-FOC dog-dl roll-3dl-REFL-do
 'Those two dogs are rolling about.'
- f. *Kibardka-nga-yi ulukaja-nga-nki-yi.*
 bathe-1sg-FUT wash-1sg-REFL-FUT
 'I'm going to take a bath.'
- g. *Ulukaja-nga-nki-yi marndamarnda.*
 wash-1sg-REFL-FUT hand
 'I'll wash my hands.'
- h. *Jama-baji-nu wawa-ali-rni ngirrbiju-wurlu-nku-ju ngulyi.*
 that-pl-did child-pl-ERG tell-3pl-REFL-do lie
 'Those kids there are telling each other lies.'
- i. *Ngiji-wunyu-nku-ju jama-bila-rni-nu bayiny-bila-rni.*
 see-3dl-REFL-do that-dl-ERG-did person-dl-FOC
 'Those two there are facing one another.'
- j. *Jama-bila-rni kirri-wunyu-nku-ju.*
 that-dl.anim-FOC swear-3dl-REFL-do
 'Those two are swearing at each other.'
- k. *Miyi-wunyu-nku-ju barrku-warndi.*
 hit-3dl-REFL-do nulla.nulla-INST
 'They're fighting (each other) with nullas.'
- l. *Mirnimirni wunyu-nku-ju.*
 hug 3dl-REFL-do
 'They're hugging each other.'

The euphemistic way of saying 'die' is to use the coverbal root *il-* 'put' with reflexive inflection:

- (6.16) a. *Dimana ila-ni-nku-ju.*
 horse put-INV-REFL-do
 'The horse is dying.'
- b. *Ngaya-rni ila-nga-nki-yi!*
 1sg.NOM-FOC put-1sg-REFL-FUT
 'I might die!'

The difference between reciprocal and transitive readings is illustrated in (6.17). In neither case is either subject or object represented overtly by a nominal.

- (6.17) a. *Balyab wunyu-ju.*
 alongside 3dl-do
 'Those two are alongside it.'
- b. *Balyab wunyu-nku-ju.*
 alongside 3dl-REFL-do
 'Those two are alongside one another.'

Reflexive/reciprocal morphology is used when subject and object are co-referent. As (6.18) shows, inclusive reference (where the reference of the subject is a subset of that of the object) does not constitute co-reference for these purposes, and so no reflexive/reciprocal morphology appears.

- (6.18) *Dardu-wala ngiji-ngurru-nu ngardajkalu, burrbiji ngurrawala.*
 many-pl see-1pl.Inc-did big(n) finish 1pl.Inc.NOM
 'We (inclusive) saw all of us.' [context: in a photograph]

6.1.5 'Disagreement' and absence of object agreement

As discussed in §5.3.1.3 and §5.3.2.2, disagreement with number and gender features of the referent is common on nominals of all sorts. In these cases it was seen that the omission is best regarded as some kind of morphological feature erasure, given that there was a strict hierarchy of 'disagreement'. Number marking in subject agreement shows exactly the same properties, as demonstrated in (6.19), which is to be expected if number on agreement markers involves the same features as number on nominals. The elements exhibiting disagreement in (6.19) appear in bold type. This kind of disagreement in verbal agreement marking is much rarer than in nominals, however.

- (6.19) a. *Dirrk biji-kunya-na-nu nginyaku, ngaba-kaji nya-na-rruku*
 pull-2dl-1O-did 1dl.Exc.ACC have-through 2sg-1O-went
nginyaku ngawu-ngka.
 1dl.Exc.ACC home-ALL
 'You two picked us two up and you took us home.'
- b. *Dunji-nginyu-nu-rra, ngirrakarni-rni dunjki-nginyu-nu-rruku*
 kiss-1sgS.2O-did-RRA 1pl.Exc.ERG-FOC kiss-1sgS.2O-did-went
nyinda-bala.
 DEM-pl.anim
 'We kissed you people.'
- c. *Dunji-nginyu-ku-rra dardu-darra burrbiji.*
 kiss-1sgS.2O-went-RRA many-pl heal
 'We [from context] kissed everyone and we all felt better.'

There are some cases of object agreement being left out of the verb complex in Jingulu. This is not common, but occurs often enough that these utterances could not be considered speech errors. It appears that, even in combinations where the concatenation of morphemes would be permitted (see (6.8)), object agreement may be dropped:

- (620) a. *Kirra-nga-yi.*
insult-1sg-FUT
'I'm telling you off.'
- b. *Ngima-rni ngaba-nga-yi angkurla ngunya-nga-yi.*
DEM(v)-FOC have-1sg-FUT NEG give-1sg-FUT
'I won't give you what I've got.'
- c. *Burdba-nga-wa nganku bundurru, angkurla nga-rriyi*
send-1sg-will.go 2sg.ACC food NEG 1sg-will.go

ngaya-rni
1sg.NOM-FOC
'I'll send you food—I'm not coming.'
- d. *Kunyaku dunji-wunya-mi ngina.*
2dl.ACC kiss-3dl-did DEM(f)
'Those two came and kissed you two women.'
- e. *Ngaja-ju ngurraku.*
see-do 1dl.Inc.ACC
'He sees us.'

As (6.20a–b) show, there need not be an overt element present to encode the nominal features of the object, but this information can be provided by the context alone. Subject markers are generally not dropped except in Imperatives, where they are obligatorily dropped with /-yirri/ or /-ji/, and optionally with /-mi/ (see §6.2.2 on Imperatives).

6.1.6 Doubling of inflection

As shown in (6.21), fused agreement markers are occasionally followed by subject or object agreement markers, which always agree in person and number with the fused agreement morpheme.

- (621) a. *Ngaya ngaja-na-ngku mirridimi-nginyi-na-ngku.*
1sg.NOM see-2sg-will.come teach-2sgS.1sgO-1O-will.come
'You'll show me how to do it.'

- b. *Ngayirni miyi-nginyi-nga-nu Nangala darrangku-warndi.*
 1sg.ERG hit-1sgS.2O-1sg-did skin.name stick-INST
 'I hit you and Nangala with my stick.'

These constructions are rare, and while they occur in texts, speakers categorically rejected them when presented with them.

6.2 Light verbs

The light verb, as discussed in Chapter 3, is the morpheme that generally follows the agreement marker(s) and encodes a combination of tense, aspect, and associated motion. There are basically three series of light verbs, each denoting a different direction or type of action, plus a small set of irrealis and imperfective markers. All core verbs bound morphemes, phonologically suffixes, and must be preceded by overt agreement marking and/or a coverbal root.

6.2.1 The three series of light verbs

The first series of light verbs to be considered is that which implies motion away from either the speaker or some other salient referent. Used without a coverbal root, these verbs, when inflected with agreement prefixes, translate into English as forms of the verb 'go'. The forms of this series are given in (6.22), and examples of these verbs in use in (6.23).

(6.22) 'go':	<u>tense/aspect</u>	<u>gloss</u>	<u>morpheme</u>	<u>allomorphs</u>
	present	go	/-ardu/	[-(w)ardu], [-rdu], [-arda] [-warda], [-rda]
	past	went	/-rruku/	[-rruku], [-rraku], [-rriki]
	future	will.go	/-wa/	[-wa], [-rriyi]

The choice between allomorphs of future /-wa/ is dependent on the length of the complex of agreement markers preceding it. If the agreement marker(s) constitute only one mora, such as 1sg /nga-/, then the bimoraic variant [-rriyi] appears, otherwise the monomoraic form [-wa] is used. Examples of all of the above forms are given in (6.23).

- (6.23) a. *Laja-nga-rdu kijurlurlu.*
 carry-1sg-go stone
 'I'm carrying a stone.'
- b. *Jayili ya-rdu marru-ngka, jayili urdurru ka-rdu marru-ngka.*
 under 3sg-go house-ALL under inside 3sg-go house-ALL
 'It's gone under the house, right underneath the house.'

- c. *Karl nga-ardu kijurlurlu-ngka.*
 up 1sg-go hill-ALL
 'I'm climbing the hill.'
- d. *Nga-rruku ngirriki kurrubardu-warndi, karnarrinyma-arndi.*
 1sg-went hunting boomerang-INST spear-INST
 'I went out hunting with a boomerang and spear.'
- e. *Mindi-rruku jalyangku-ma Warranganku-ngka.*
 1dl.Inc-went today-EMPH Beetaloo-ALL
 'Today we went to Beetaloo.'
- f. *Nyinda-rna ngangga juwirri-mindu-wa yunku.*
 DEM(m)-DAT meat follow-1dl.Inc-will.go foot
 'We must follow the animal's tracks.'
- g. *Burdba-nga-rruku mijuwulmi ngaya-rni angkurla nga-riyi.*
 send-1sg-went tobacco 1sg.NOM-FOC NEG 1sg-will.go
 'I sent you tobacco, but I didn't go myself.'

The next series of light verbs implies motion toward either the speaker or some other salient referent. If used without a coverbal root, this series translates into English as using forms of the verb 'come'. The forms of this series are given in (6.24), and examples of these verbs in use in (6.25).

- (6.24) 'come': tense/aspect gloss morpheme allomorphs
- | | | | |
|---------|-----------|-----------|----------------------------|
| present | come | /-jiyimi/ | [-jiyimi], [-jimi], [jima] |
| past | came | /-miki/ | [-miki], [-mika] |
| future | will.come | /-ngku/ | [-(a)ngku], [-angki] |
- (6.25) a. *Dikidika wul maja-mi, ngarru bunbaku-wurri-jiyimi nyinda-baja.*
 nulla.nulla pull-IRR 1sg.ACC fight-3pl-come that(m)-pl
 'Let's get our clubs, they've come to fight us.'
- b. *Ngini-rni jundurru duwa-jiyimi.*
 DEM(n)-FOC dust rise-come
 'Dust is rising.'
- c. *Wilinja ya-jiyimi jamaniki-rni.*
 countryman 3sg-come this(m)-FOC
 'Our countryman is coming.'
- d. *Jama-bili-rna birri-wunya-ana-miki marluka-yili-rni.*
 that-dl.anim-FOC visit-3dl-IO-came old.man-dl-ERG
 'Those two old people came to see me yesterday.'

- e. *Nginyu-rruku jungkali, lurrbu-nama nginya-miki.*
 1dl.Exc-went far return-time 1dl.Exc-came
 'We went afar, and then came back.'
- f. *Mindu-wa nginiwa, nya-angku.*
 1dl.Inc-will.go this.way 2sg-will.come
 'We're going for a walk, come along.'
- g. *Jangka-nama nga-ardu ngirriki-nama lurrbu nga-angku.*
 another-time 1sg-go hunting-time return 1sg-will.come
 'I'm going hunting again and then coming back.'

Once the 'go' and 'come' morphemes are accounted for, the remaining core verb morphemes form a class which, if used without a coverbal root, can be translated using some form of the English verbs 'do' or 'be' (following Chadwick 1975). These forms, listed in (6.26), are most commonly found forming words with coverbal roots, but may also be used with agreement markers in the absence of a root where the action being done is understood from the discourse context. These suffixes do not necessarily imply a lack of motion, but are rather, in Chadwick's (1975) terms, 'motion-neutral' in that they do not specify for motion.

(6.26) 'do':	<u>tense/aspect</u>	<u>gloss</u>	<u>morpheme</u>	<u>allomorphs</u>
	present	do	/-ju/	[-ju], [-ja]
	past	did	/-nu/	[-nu], [-na]
	future	FUT	/-yi/	[-yi], [-ya]
	distant past	DIST	/-marri/	[-marri], [-marra], [-marriyimi]
	habitual	HAB	/-ardi/	[-(w)ardi], [-rdi], [-bardi]
	past habitual	PST.HAB	/-ka/	[-(a)ka], [-(a)ki]

For each of the morphemes listed above, the first given allomorph is by far the most common. The other forms appear occasionally without any apparent regularity, and are never given in careful speech.

Examples of these morphemes in use appear in (6.27). In addition to the past, present, and future forms, which correspond to the forms in the 'come' and 'go' paradigms, (6.26) contains three morphemes which have no motion-specific correspondents. The distant past /-marri/ is used to indicate an action or state that occurred at a time remote from the time of utterance or, in the case of subordinate clauses, the time of reference indicated by the main clause (see §4.2.2). It is comparable to a 'historic' or 'narrative' past in European languages. The exact delimitation of 'distant' past is quite flexible, and a time lapse that constitutes 'distant' in one situation may be considered 'recent' past in others. This suffix is usually realised as [-marri] but sometimes the more extended [-marriyimi] appears, and this variation appears to be largely up to speaker choice. The extended [-marriyimi] was, however, often found with habitual aspect in the distant past (rather than /-ka/).

The habitual /-ardi/ is used when the state or event depicted by the verb is consistently true or represents a habit or general usage. The past habitual /-ka/ is used for a former such habit that is no longer so at the time of utterance (or reference time in the case of subordinate clauses).

- (627) a. *Angkula ngaja-nga-ju, jundurru ngaba-nga-ju ngabanju-mbili.*
 NEG see-1sg-do dust have-1sg-do eye-LOC
 'I can't see, I have dust in my eyes.'
- b. *Kakuyi ya-ju, jurruku-mbili kakuyi ya-ju dardu.*
 fish 3sg-do far.from.shore-LOC fish 3sg-do many
 'There are fish, there's lots of fish out in the middle.'
- c. *Kulyi-wunyu-nu, kulyu-wunyu-nu karnarrinyku.*
 spear-3dl-did spear-3dl-did spear
 'They got it with a spear.'
- d. *Dibij nga-nu jiminiki darrangku-ngka.*
 out 1sg-did this(n) tree-ALL
 'I came out right along the trees.'
- e. *Durd maya-nga-yi lurrurnmi.*
 kick-1sg-FUT testicles
 'I'll kick him in the balls.'
- f. *Ngirrinymmi walkinda-ngurri-yi wawa.*
 ceremonial.ring sweep-1pl.Inc-FUT boy
 'We'll whisk the boys off to the ceremony place.'
- g. *Ngindi-nama wumbuma-yi nganga-rni wurra-ka-na ya-yi.*
 this(m)-time cook-FUT meat-FOC 3pl.GEN-m 3sg-FUT
 'Then he'll cook the meat for these people, he will.'
- h. *Ngindaniki jurdumajurduma-rni, jalyangku-nama-kaji angkula*
 this(m) finch-FOC now-time-through NEG
ngaja-marri marlarlukarni-rni.
 see-DIST old.men-ERG
 'We never see the Gouldian finch now as we did in the old days.'
- i. *Jama-rni-rni kurdingi-rni-rni darra-marriyimi bikirra.*
 that(m)-ERG-FOC mulgara-FOC-ERG eat-DIST grass
 'The mulgara ate grass.'
- j. *Kiranguku-nu darra-ardi buliki-rni dimana-rni.*
 melon.species-did eat-HAB cow-ERG horse-ERG
 'Cows and horses eat this melon.'

- k. *Kibilimi biyijilimi duw-ardi langa warlumbu-warlumbu.*
yam.sp. long(v) rise-HAB P(Kr) bullwaddy-RED
'Kibilimi is a long one that grows in bullwaddy country.'
- l. *Ngaya-rni manyan ngab-ardi nginimbili.*
1sg.NOM-FOC sleep 1sg-HAB here
'I usually sleep here.'
- m. *Jama-rni warrijki ya-aka ngini-mbili.*
that(m)-FOC spirit 3sg-PST.HAB this-LOC
'The spirit used to be here.'
- n. *Yalbawurrini jakulajki wunya-miki yurri-ki.*
bandicoot possum 3dl-came play-PST.HAB
'Bandicoots and possums once came to play.'

6.2.2 Irrealis and Imperative moods

When a clause expresses an action or state whose likelihood of happening or having happened is low or unknown, or is highly conditional, the light verb slot is occupied by /-mi/ (glossed 'IRR' for 'irrealis', no other allomorphs). As (6.28d–g) show, the Irrealis marker can also be used to denote a permanent property, something that is always true.

- (628) a. *Aji-rni ngaba-mi jiminiki-rni?*
what have-IRR this(n)-FOC
'What did you bring (if anything)?'
- b. *Jayirlungka-mi wurr maja-nga-nu.*
get.out-IRR pull-1sg-did
'I pulled on it to get it out.'
- c. *Jama-rni wiltwili-kaji ya-ju karningka wirrkiyi-mi.*
that-FOC hang-through 3sg-do LEST fall-IRR
'It's hanging, swinging, might fall.'
- d. *Ngayarni wakunya-nga-mi.*
1sg.ERG left.handed-1sg-IRR
'I'm left-handed.'
- e. *Ngaya-rni nga-mi warnayaka.*
1sg.NOM-FOC 1sg-IRR foreign(m)
'I'm a foreigner.'
- f. *Bardakurra jama-rni yarraburra, bardakurra-nya-mi ngarnu.*
good(m) that(m)-FOC helpful good(m)-2sg-IRR 3sg.ACC.m
'You're good to me, work with me.'

- g. *Mamambiyaku diyinu maja-mi ila-kaji mandarra-ngka.*
 soft(n) gum get-IRR put-through sore-ALL
 'The softened bloodwood gum is gotten to put on sores.'

The irrealis marker /-mi/ is also the most common means of making an imperative:

- (6.29) a. *Nyurrun baka-mi!*
 slither-IRR
 'Slide on over!'
- b. *Kurlukurla wunjuwa-mi!*
 small(m) spill-IRR
 'Give me just a little bit!'
- c. *Ila-mi ijalkarru-ngka jalurruka-rna jawaranya!*
 put-IRR fire-ALL tea-DAT billy
 'Put the billy on the fire for some tea!'
- d. *Karlakarlarra-yarra ila-mi!*
 loosen-go.IMPV put-IRR
 'Loosen this!'
- e. *Kalarra ngaja-mi!*
 west see-IRR
 'Look west!'
- f. *Narnangaja-nku-mi!*
 close.look-REFL-IRR
 'Watch yourself!'
- g. *Jiminiki-rni ila-nyu-mi ngamulu ngardajkalu!*
 this(n)-FOC put-2sg-IRR big(n) huge(n)
 'Put those down, they're heavy!'
- h. *Warnu-ngkujbi, warnu ngunya-ana-mi!*
 tobacco-HAVING(m) tobacco give-1O-IRR
 'You with the tobacco, give me a cigarette!'
- i. *Kabija-anyu-mi!*
 smile-2dl-IRR
 'Smile, you two!'

As (6.29g-i) show, /-mi/ used as an imperative can co-occur with overt agreement marking. This is not the case with two morphemes that are used specifically and solely with Imperative force: the Imperative of motion /-yirri/ (glossed 'go.IMPV', no other allomorphs, examples in (6.30)), and a negative Imperative, /-ji/ (glossed 'NEG.IMPV', no other allomorphs, examples in (6.31)). These two morphemes

never co-occur with any agreement marking and therefore, being suffixes, can only occur with coverbal roots. The Imperative of motion is used when the command involves motion away from the site of commanding ('go and ...!'), while the Negative Imperative is used in commands to avoid a certain action or state ('do not ...!'). Thus there are three different possible imperatives formed on the root /ngaj-/ 'look': *ngajami!* 'look!', *ngijiyirri* 'go look!', and *ngijiji* 'don't look!'

- (630) a. *Ngabarnda ngibi-yirri!*
 shoulder have-go.IMPV
 'Carry him on your shoulders!'
- b. *Ngunu buba miji-yirri!*
 DEM(n) fire get-go.IMPV
 'Go get some firewood!'
- c. *Warnu miji-yirri ngarru! Kunumburra miji-yirri ngarru!*
 tobacco get-go.IMPV 1sg.ACC quickly get-go.IMPV 1sg.ACC
 'Get me my tobacco! Get it for me quickly!'
- d. *Inymi-yirri!*
 walk-go.IMPV
 'Walk!'
- e. *Ngibi-yirri!*
 hold-go.IMPV
 'Take it!'
- (631) a. *Ngirribiji-ji ngininiki-rna bangaja-nya-nu!*
 tell-NEG.IMPV this(n)-FOC spit.out-2sg-did
 'Don't go telling this secret you just told!'
- b. *Dakarni! Dunjumi-ji, mankiya-mi dunjumi-ji!*
 leave.it(IMPV) poke-NEG.IMPV sit-IRR poke-NEG.IMPV
 'Leave me alone! Stop poking me, be still and don't poke me!'
- c. *Ardu-nga-nama nyambala jajka-wurru-mi, ijirriyi-ji*
 many-ERG.f-time DEM(n) request-3pl-IRR rush-NEG.IMPV

jangkangkubarni warru-ngku!
 one.at.a.time(m) 3pl-will.come
 'They're all coming to me, don't rush, come one at a time!'
- d. *Warrijmajka jamaniki-rni juwirri-ji!*
 killer this(m)-ERG follow-NEG.IMPV
 'He's a killer, don't follow him!'

- e. *Kunangarru wardka-ju nyamirni jirdirdini! Nguku-ji! Wami!*
 tears fall-do DEM(f) cruel cry-NEG.IMPV stay(IMPV)
 'Her tears are falling harshly. Stop your crying! Be still!'

The inability of /-yirri/ and /-ji/ to co-occur with agreement marking is linked with their ability to trigger vowel harmony in coverbal roots (see §2.4 for details of harmony).

There are other ways of forming imperatives in Jingulu, which are less common than the use of IRR or IMPV marking. One method is to use one of the future tense light verbs. In these cases, subject agreement is generally dropped:

- (632) a. *Kundalnga maya-rriyi!*
 clapstick hit-will.go
 'Clap those sticks!'
- b. *Jandanama ngunya-ana-ngku!*
 more give-1O-will.come
 'Give me more!'
- c. *Nginini kurnnyu wilwilili-rriyi nginda!*
 DEM(n) skin hang-will.go DEM(m)
 'Go hang this hide up!'
- d. *Dalkurru ngunya-ana-ngku!*
 half give-1O-will.come
 'Give me half!'

There are also some specifically imperative forms of certain verbs or demonstratives, as demonstrated in (6.33). These are lexicalised forms and are synchronically monomorphemic.

- (633) a. *Dakarni! Jiminiki-rni banybila-nga-nu!*
 leave.it.IMPV this-NIKI-FOC find-1sg-did
 'Leave it! I found it!'
- b. *Warrungku, jiminika-mbili-rni warrungku!*
 come.IMPV.pl this(n)-LOC-FOC come.IMPV.pl
 'Come over here, you lot!'
- c. *Banybili-rni darrangku karnawunji ardbija wirri!*
 find-FOC tree lancewood mid.distance go.IMPV.sg
 'Go find a lancewood over that way!'

The form *dakarni* (6.33a) appears to be an interjection, rather than a verbal form proper, as it always seems to occupy its own intonational phrase.

6.2.3 Interpretation of tense

For main clauses the interpretation of tense marking is fairly transparent. Labels like 'past', 'present', 'habitual' etc. and the glosses of these morphemes adequately connote their interpretation with respect to utterance time. When two clauses are conjoined, each clause's tense is interpreted independently. The interpretation of tense marking in subordinate (adjoined) clauses, however, is dependent on the tense and aspect of the main clause rather than on the utterance time. Some examples are found in the preceding sentences, though a full discussion is found in the treatment of subordination in §4.2.2.

6.2.4 Verbs suffixed to nominals

It is not uncommon to find suffixes homophonous with certain light verbs on nominal elements. This is not a case of tense agreement as is found in Kayardild (Evans 1996), where tense is distributed to all words within the predicate (including objects), since, as can be seen in (6.34) and subsequent examples, the tense marked on the nominal need not agree or even be compatible with that of the main clause verb. Not all possible light verbs are found on nominals, but rather only one of the present, past, future or habitual verbs (most commonly /-ju/ 'do', /-nu/ 'did', /-ka/ 'PST.HAB' or /-yi/ 'FUT'). These morphemes appear to be functioning in these environments as definite deixis markers, with distinctions according to location in space with respect to the speaker. The use of past /-nu/ indicates the item is at hand, either visible or recently visible or recently prominent in the discussion (6.34), and translates as 'this/that X here'. Present tenses indicate proximity to the speaker (6.35), future morphemes convey a sense of 'up there' or 'up ahead' (6.36), while the past habitual marker /-ka/ indicates the referent is out of sight, usually 'behind' the speaker in terms of location at a place previously visited by the speaker (6.37). I have also found a small number of clear example of the Irrealis marker /-mi/ occurring on a nominal (6.38), which apparently indicates an occurrence of something that is as yet uninstantiated (but usually expected). The motion-neutral markers are usually used unless some movement of the marked item is also implied. This definiteness marking is entirely optional, and follows all nominal marking including case and role.

- (6.34) a. *Nyini-nu ngarri-nu ngarru-nu ngawu nyininiki-nu bilyingbiyaku*
 DEM(n)-did 1sg.GEN-n 1sg.GEN-n home this(n)-did red(n)

karalu.

ground

'My home is the red earth here.'

- b. *Ngayirmi babi-rni ngiji-nginya-nu kujkarrarna,*
 1sg.ERG older.brother-ERG see-1dl.Exc-did two

yaminju-nu nyu-rruku nyinawarra.

shooting.star-did 2sg-went this.way

'My brother and I saw two shooting stars when you'd gone.'

- c. *Ajuwa ila-nga-nu ngarru bundurru-nu?*
 where put-1sg-did 1sg.ACC food-did
 'Where did I put my food?'
- d. *Ngini-rni yurlaminku-nu ngaja-mi!*
 DEM(n)-FOC eucalyptus.sp.-did see-IRR
 'Look at that Yurlaminku tree there!'
- e. *Jama-rni-ma jajkalu-nu ngarri-na kula ngamula-kaji.*
 that-FOC-EMPH teenage.boy-did 1sg.GEN-m nephew big(m)-through
 'That boy is my nephew, the big one.'
- f. *Nyamina-rni-nu bardakurri-rni-kaji ya-ju.*
 DEM(f)-FOC-did good-f-through 3sg-do
 'She's well now.'
- g. *Ngaba-nga-rriyi dardu larnku karningka nyinda-nu wawa*
 have-1sg-will.go many clothes LEST DEM(m)-did child
wurrajkalu-jiyimi.
 cold-come
 'I'll take lots of clothes in case the boy gets cold.'
- h. *Dankaya-rlu ngurru-ju angkula banybili-ngurri-yi ngawu-nu.*
 be.lost-FOC 1pl.Inc-do NEG find-1pl.Inc-FUT camp-did
 'We're lost and can't find our way home.'
- i. *Kirangkujju-nu darra-ardi buliki-rni dimana-rni.*
 melon.species-did eat-HAB cow-ERG horse-ERG
 'Cows and horses eat this here kirangkujju melon.'
- (635) a. *Nyanyalu jimi-rna dardu ya-ju mamambila-ju karalu.*
 leaf that(n)-FOC many 3sg-do soft-do ground
 'A bed of leaves makes the ground here soft.'
- b. *Dimbu-mbili madayi-ju.*
 sky-LOC cloud-do
 'The sky here is cloudy.'
- c. *Kujarrarni walanja-ju ngaja-rdu karrila, ngawu nyaku ngunu.*
 two goanna-do see-go leave.IRR home 3dl.GEN DEM(n)
 'We saw two goannas, but we left them alone, and we saw their hole.'
- d. *Jamaniki-rni ibilka-rdi nyambala kurranjiyaji.*
 this(m)-FOC water-HAB DEM(n) shallow
 'This water is shallow.'

- e. *Wuliyija-nga-rdi langa ngaja-nga-ju kanjalawurri-darra dardu.*
 sun-DAT.f-HAB P(Kr) see-1sg-do male.red.kangaroo-pl many
 'At sunset one can see many kangaroos.'

- f. *Nangki-mi karrijbi-yardu wijinki-nama. Nangki-mi karrijbi ya-ju*
 another-v road-go straight-time another-v road 3sg-do

karlwadaj.

crossed

'One road here goes straight. Another crosses it.'

Sentences (6.35d–e) show the use of the present habitual verb to denote an ongoing presence of the nominal thus marked, while sentence (6.35f) shows how one of the directional verbs can be used when the definite nominal referent is singled out as moving or going, as does (6.36c).

- (6.36) a. *Ngunu janbara-yi jimi-rna darrangku-mbili.*
 DEM(n) nest-FUT this-FOC tree-LOC
 'There's a nest up in that tree.'

- b. *Nguni-yi janbara-mbili nyambala marrkulu-darra wurru-ju,*
 DEM(n)-FUT nest-LOC DEM(n) egg-pl 3pl-do

kujkarrarna-kujkarrarna.

two-RED

'There are four eggs in that nest.'

- c. *Jama-baja-rriyi malkirrankuj-bala dirri-wurru-ju ibilka.*
 that-pl-will.go bachelor-pl.anim eat-3pl-do water/drink
 'Those bachelors up there are going about drinking.'

- (6.37) a. *Ngurru-wa ngini-ka bardakurru-ngka banybili-ngurri-yi*
 1pl.Inc-will.go this(n)-PST.HAB good(n)-ALL find-1pl.Inc-FUT

bardakurru kurrindi-ngurri-yi ngawu-rna.

good(n) camp-1pl.Inc-FUT camp-DAT

'We'll find a good place (back there) to set up camp.'

- b. *Kilyirri-nginyi-ju ngarri-ni-nga bardarda-ka*
 dig.up-1dl.Exc-do 1sg.GEN-f-ERG younger.brother-PST.HAB

babirdimi.

yam

'My little sister back there and I are digging up yams.'

- c. *Jamaniki-rni karnanganja-nga baya-ka yurnukurdukurdu-warndi.*
 this(m)-FOC emu-ERG.f man-PST.HAB foot-INST
 'This fellow (back there) got kicked by an emu.'

- d. *Ngindi-nama wumbuma-yi nganga-rni walanja-rni,*
 this(m)-time cook-FUT meat-FOC goanna-FOC

wurraka-na-ka ya-yi.
 3pl.GEN-m-PST.HAB 3sg-FUT

'Then he'll cook the goanna meat, for those folks back there, he will.'

- (638) a. *Ngunu ngaja-mi mayamba-kaji-mi nginda.*
 DEM see-IRR whirlwind-through-IRR DEM(m)
 'Look, I think that's really a whirlwind.'

- b. *Ngininiki-rni ngarru-nu kiyala-rni miji-ngurru-nu ngarru*
 this(n)-FOC 1sg.GEN-n nose.bone-FOC get-1pl.Inc-did 1sg.GEN

junma-rni-rna-mi, junma kardakarda.
 wallaby-FOC-DAT-IRR wallaby bone

'We got my nose bone here from a wallaby skeleton.'

The appearance of /-mi/ on 'wallaby' in (638b) indicates the wallaby itself was not encountered and slaughtered, and is thus uninstantiated. Rather the bone was found and presumed to have come from a wallaby.

When words referring to words or languages are marked as definite in this way, the past marker /-nu/ is always used:

- (639) a. *Waja nyama-rni liyijku-nu?*
 what 2sg.NOM-FOC name-did
 'What's your name?'

- b. *Nyamba jimi-rna marrinjkun-nu?*
 what that(n)-FOC word-did
 'What's that word?'

- c. *Nyamba ambaya-nya-ju jimi-rna marrinjkun-nu? Angkurla*
 what speak-2sg-do that(n)-FOC word-did NEG

larrinka-nga-ju nganku.
 understand-1sg-do 2sg.ACC

'What was that word you said? I didn't understand you.'

- d. *Ayinja-nama dirri-ngurri-yi, waja baka-ngurri-ngku*
 little.while-time eat-1pl.Inc-FUT loosen-1pl.Inc-will.come

marrinjkun-nu.
 language-did

'Wait a little while we drink, then we'll talk language [Jingulu].'

That this use of tense-marking on nominals is deictic and not purely marking definiteness is further suggested by the fact that tense marking may occur even on nominals with unique referents:

- (640) a. *Ngawu-nu maja-nya-yi-kaji, nyamirni-kaji ngawu-nu*
home-did get-2sg-FUT-through 2sg.ERG-through home-did

maja-nya-yi, Kirnbininku-nu.
get-2sg-FUT Kirnbininku-did

'You will come to know this here camp properly now, you'll really get a hold of it, this Kirnbininku.'

- b. *Bardawurri-mi karalu ngirribiji-ngirri-wardi ngunungku-nu,*
good-v ground tell-1pl.Exc-HAB this.way-did

Jarrimanu-nu.

Jarrimanu-did

'We say that it's good ground over there, over Jarrimanu way.'

Tense marking is occasionally used on nominals denoting events in order to locate them in time with respect to other events:

- (641) a. *Banybili nakalanjku ibilkina-nu.*
find moss rain-did

'Moss is found after the rain.'

- b. *Langa-jija jamaniki-rni, angkula langkaj bil-ajka-nu langkaj bila-nu*
ear-PRIV this(m)-FOC NEG hear-NOML(P)-did hear-did

kiwirra.

none

'He's deaf, unhearing, he heard nothing.'

It is conceivable that the use of light verbs as deictic markers on nominals developed from the use of full verbal clauses in adjoined positions. Note from the above examples that the referents of nominals marked with deictic tense are always third person. Words like *ibilkardi* in (6.35d) might have once been expressed as the clause *ibilka ya-ardi* ('there is (usually) water', *bardardaka* in (6.37b) from *bardarda ya-ka* ('my younger sibling was (there)'), and *marrinjkunu* in (6.39d etc.) from *marrinjku ya-nu* ('the word did (get said)'). Being adjoined clauses, the tense features of the core verb would be interpreted as relative to the tense features of the main clause (see §4.2.2). Dropping of the third person singular subject marker /ya-/ would have resulted in the core verb (phonologically a suffix) attaching to the free nominal. Such nominals could then have been reanalysed as nominals marked with deictic tense.

This same process would be historically responsible for the existence of coverbal roots ending in /y/ that are equivalent to adjectives, such as /bardakurriy-/ ('be or make good/well') from *bardakurra* ('good/well') by way of *bardakurra ya* + V. A scan of the Jingulu dictionary (Pensalfini in preparation) reveals that there another half a dozen or so roots of this sort, including /mabuy-/ 'be ashamed' from *mabu* 'shame' and /milyamilyay-/ 'be slow' from *milyamilya* 'late, slow'.

6.3 The curious morpheme /-rra/

The morpheme /-rra/ is occasionally found on verbal words and demonstratives. The exact function of this morpheme is unclear, and it could be neither elicited nor explained in a way I could understand. It could be cognate with the Ngumpin-Yapa /-rra/. In Gurindji and Warlpiri this is the centripetal marker, indicating motion away, though in Jingulu, as in Mudburra, it appears in a variety of contexts where this interpretation is not available. In Jingulu these morphemes occur following the verb complex ((6.42e), (6.43)), or suffixed to a directional demonstrative.

- (6.42) a. *Jimi-rra-rra* *darrangku wurru-ju, darrangku wurru-ju durard*
 that(n)-DAT-RRR branch 3pl-do branch 3pl-do poke.out

wunyu-ju.

3dl-do

'There are branches sticking right out of the water, two branches.'

- b. *Mindu-wa* *nginuwa-rra.*
 1dl.Inc-will.go this.way-RRR
 'We're off this way.'

- c. *Ngaya-rni* *nga-rriyi* *nginuwa-rra* *kirrawarra.*
 1sg.NOM-FOC 1sg-will.go this.way-RRR north
 'I'm heading northward.'

- d. *Nginduwa-rra* *ya-rruku.*
 this.way-RRR 3sg-went
 'There he goes.'

- e. *Dunji-nginyu-rruku-rra* *dardu-rdarra* *burrbiji.*
 kiss-1sgS.2O-went-RRR many-pl heal
 'We kissed everyone and we all felt better.'

- f. *Jalyangka-rra* *angkula* *dirri-ngirru-wardi.*
 now-RRR NEG eat-1sg.Exc-HAB
 Nowadays we don't eat it.

In (6.42a-d), an interpretation involving movement away is likely, though in (6.42e-f) its function is unclear. A centripetal use of /-rra/ may also be the source of (*w*)*ajuwara*, the alternate form to (*w*)*ajuwa* ('whither'), though the rhotic in

(w)ajuwara is a glide, not the trill of /-rra/. All of the above sentences are grammatical and seem to be equivalent in meaning without this morpheme. The centripetal use of /-rra/ in Jingulu is probably a calque from Mudburra.

There is one further curious use of /-rra/, in which it occurs with the root *burdb-*, meaning 'send'. The examples in (6.43) also appear in §4.1.6.

- (6.43) a. *Nginda-bila-rni marluka-yila burdba-nga-yi-rra*
 that(m)-dl.anim-ERG old.man-dl.anim send-1sg-FUT-RRR

 marlumarlu-yila ngunbuluka-rni-ngka.
 sick-dl.anim doctor-FOC-ALL
 'I'll send those two sick old men to the doctor.'
- b. *Nginda-baja-rni burdba-nga-mi-rra nginda-baji-rni-ngka.*
 that(m)-pl.anim-ERG send-1sg-did-RRR that(m)-dl.anim-FOC-ALL
 'I sent that mob over to that other mob.'

In the above instances, the appearance of /-rra/ licenses ERG case on the (underlying) direct object of the verb, while the indirect object appears with the ALL suffix. The verb still agrees with the underlying subject, so these constructions could not be viewed as passives.

7 *Sample texts*

This chapter contains eleven short texts illustrating the Jingulu language in narratives and in conversation. The texts were collected in a variety of ways, indicated at the beginning of each text. Many of the texts were recountings of the day's activities. Many of the hunting and implement-manufacturing stories are of this kind. A small number are conversations between Jingulu speakers. Some were elicited (as in the case of most of the stories about animals, where the speakers were asked to describe the appearance, habitat, lifestyle, and/or other aspects of a particular animal), and a small number were offered spontaneously.

Where English or Kriol words, phrases or sentences are used in a text, these are underlined (as has been the practice throughout this grammar). Unless noted immediately following the title, the text is in the Warranganku dialect of Jingulu. Hesitations and re-starts have been edited out, though repetitions and self-correction on words have been left in. Pauses are indicated by ellipsis.

These texts are presented as glossed sentences with a translation below each sentence. They are provided for linguistic interest alone, and do not contain a great deal of information of cultural or other interest. I collected a great number of texts that contained far more interesting material on the Jingili, their land, lifestyles, rituals, beliefs, traditions, practices, and a wealth of information on the animals of Jingili country. These latter texts are arranged and annotated in a more user-friendly way in a separate volume (Pensalfini in preparation), which also contains a comprehensive Jingulu-English dictionary and an English-Jingulu word finder. This volume is recommended to any reader with an interest in Jingili culture.

7.1 Warranganku (Beetaloo)

— told by Kijilikarri Jumbo Collins Jamirringinja (JC) and Clancy Bostock Jangalinginja (CB).

This text was recorded at Warranganku (Beetaloo out-station) during the dry season of 1996. At the time, Clancy was living at the out-station, while Jumbo was living near Marlinja.

JC: *Ambaya-mi! Ambaya-mi! Nyama-rlu, Jangalinginja.*
 talk-IRR talk-IRR 2sg.NOM-FOC skin
 'Talk! Talk! You, Jangalinginja.'

CB: *Nyamba-rna-kaji?*
 what-DAT-through
 'What about, then?'

JC: *Amba nya-miki karriba-la Jurlinginja-la wunya-miki.*
 PURP 2sg-came whitefella-pl skin- pl 3dl-came
 'About how you white Jurlinginjas came, how those two came.'

CB: *Wunyiiyirla Jurlinginja an Ngamana ya-miki laliya jalyanguku, arlibala.*
 3dl.NOM skin and skin¹ 3sg-came tea today early
 'Those two, Jurlinginja and Naaninginju brought tea early this morning.'

Ya-miki Marlinja-ngka.
 3sg-came Marlinja-ALL
 'They came to Marlinja.'

Miki-nginyu-nu yuna-rlu Jabarda, Kijilikarri, Jumbo Collins.
 came-1dl.Exc-did 2dl-FOC skin name name
 'We two came too, (me and) Jabarda, Kijilikarri, Jumbo Collins that is.'

Ngirriki kurru-nu.
 hunting 2pl-did
 'You mob hunted.'

JC: *Ngirrirriki, karninyinji-rna nga-nu.*
 hunting(RED) bustard-DAT 1sg-did
 'We hunted about for turkeys.'

¹ Ngamana is the Mudburra equivalent of the Jingulu skin-name Naaninginju. Jingulu speakers commonly use the Mudburra skin-names when speaking Jingulu. This was probably commonplace before Jingulu speakers stopped using Jingulu as a language of communication, given that the Jingili and (Eastern) Mudburra have functioned as a single people for cultural and ritual purposes for some generations (see §1.1).

CB: *Angkula-kaji banybili-wurru-nu jangkubarni.*
 NEG-through find-3pl-did one
 'They didn't even find one.'

JC: *Kuwarnku, kuwarnku. Jalyangku-rru dirri-ngurru-ju diyina-kaji.*
 none none now-RRA eat-1pl.Inc-do dinner-through
 'Nothing, nothing at all. Now we're having lunch.'

Dina-ngkami-rni nyinuwa all right
 dinner-ABL-FOC this.way OK
 'After lunch we'll go off this way.'

CB: *Ajuwa-kaji?*
 where.to-through
 'Where to?'

JC: *Warranganku-ngka.*
 Beetaloo-ALL
 'To Beetaloo (homestead).'

Ningki-mindi-yi wangkurra, lurrbu ngurru-rru-ngku,
 chop-1dl.Inc-FUT sugarbag return 1pl.Inc-RRA-will.come

nginuwa-kaji ngurru-wa ngirriki.
 this.way-through 1pl.Inc-will.go hunting
 'We'll cut a sugarbag then come back, then we'll go off hunting this way.'

Marangma-rna. Marndaj?
 gum-DAT OK
 'For gum. OK?'

Lurrbu-nama ngurru-wa Kirrirdi-mbili, ya-marri ili Kirrirdi.
 return-time 1pl.Inc-will.go Kirrirdi-LOC 3sg-DIST put Kirrirdi
 'On the way back we'll go to Kirrirdi, like they used to go to Kirrirdi.'

Lurrbu ngurru-rru-ngku, kad-ima-kaji murdika-arndi.
 return 1pl.Inc-RRA-will.come, get-TR-through car-INST
 'When we come back we'll get him in the car.'

Ngurru-wa-kaji Marlinja-rra.
 1pl.Inc-will.go-through Marlinja-RRA
 'We'll go right on up to Marlinja.'

Jalyangku-kini langa Balardku jama-rni.
 today-NEG.INDEF P Balardku that(m)-FOC
 ‘Just about all the way to Balardku today.’

Lurrbu-kaji nya-rriyi karlarra Marlinja-rra.
 return-through 2sg-will.go west Marlinja-RRR
 ‘Then we’ll go right on out west to Marlinja.’

Ngayarni nga-rriyi kaakuwi.
 1sg.ERG 1sg-will.go fish
 ‘I’ll go fishing.’

Banybila-nga-rriyi kurna ngardajkalu, kamara.
 find-1sg-will.go REL big(n) camera
 ‘We’ll go looking for that big camera too.’ [lost in that area the day before]

Miyi-ngirri-nu, wardamanmarra.
 kill-1pl.Exc-did male.kangaroo
 ‘Where we killed that male red kangaroo.’

CB: *Idajku?*
 yesterday
 ‘Yesterday?’

JC: *Yuwayi. Ngamurla jiyi ma.*
 yes big(m) CATAPH EMPH
 ‘Yeah. It was a big one too.’

Ngininika-rlu kanyburru dirri-ngurru-ju, jama-rlu nganga.
 this(n)-FOC meat eat-1pl.Inc-do that(m)-FOC meat
 ‘That’s the meat we’re eating now, that meat.’

RP²: *Kulumindini-ngkami ngurri-jiyimi Warranganku-ngka, ngawu nganku-nu.*
 Elliott-ABL 1pl.Inc-came Beetaloo-ALL home 2sg.GEN-n
 ‘We came from Elliott to Beetaloo, your home.’

CB: *Ngarru-nu ngawu, marndaj!*
 1sg.GEN-n home OK
 ‘My home, right!’

² Ngarrandarra Rob Pensalfini Jurlinginja (not a native speaker).

7.2 Jurrkurlumbili (At the Creek)

— told by Miminyngali Eileen Peterson-Cooper Nangalinginju

This text is in the Kuwarrangu dialect of Jingulu. It was recorded as we walked around a dry creek bed, during the dry season of 1995.

Yunku ngininiki, ngininiki ngijinmi ngininiki yunku.
 footprint this(n) this(n) tail this(n) foot
 'Here's some tracks, this is his tail and this is his foot.'

Nganga bardawurra.
 meat good(m)
 'Good meat.'

Ngininiki-rni ibilka ya-marriyimi ngawu-mbili-rni, ngardajkalu.
 this(n)-FOC water 3sg-DIST home-LOC-FOC big(n)
 'There was once water running here at our camp, lots of it.'

Jalyangukku-nama-kaji no ibilka-kaji nau najing-kaji,
 today-time-through NEG water-through now nothing-through

kiwirra-kaji.
 none-through
 'Right now there's no water here, nothing at all.'

Kurranjku-kaji ... nginiwa ya-rruku.
 dry(n)-through this.way 3sg-went
 'It's really dry ... it (the goanna) went off this way.'

'Ngardajkalu marndamarnda ngardarda' ngirribiji-ngirri-wardi.
 big(n) hand crab tell-1pl.Exc-HAB
 'We call it [crab claw] a "crab's big hand".'

Karalu maja-nu larlu biji, darra-nu.
 ground get-did bail eat-did
 'The ground had swallowed up this bottle, filling it.'

Ibilka-kaji ila-marri jawaranya-mbili.
 water-through put-DIST vessel-LOC
 'Stagnant water had filled up the bottle.'

7.3 *Jakardini Julardi* (Mother birds)

— told by Yikalamba Robin Woods Jangaringinja

This text was recorded in a house in Elliott during the dry season of 1996.

Jula-rdi kiyilyi-mbili daki-nu kurlungkurla-rni wawa-rni.
bird-ERG fork-LOC leave-did small-FOC child-FOC
'Birds leave their babies in a tree fork.'

Dak-kaji bila-rdi jakardi-nga bunga-rni, ambaya-ju nguka-ju
leave-through put-HAB mother-ERG.f leave-FOC, say-do cry-do

wawa-rni kirdba-mbili-rni.
child-FOC egg-LOC-FOC
'The mother leaves them there and the new-born babies cry.'

Kurlungkula-rni wawa-rni jakardirni-nu duwa-ardimi ngirriki.
small-FOC child-FOC mother-did³ rise-DIST hunt
'The mother cared for her children by hunting at dawn.'

Maja-ardimi kungmarna, maja-ardimi ngunu kungmarna maja-ardi
get-DIST caterpillar get-DIST that(n) caterpillar get-HAB

ngaba-ardi ngarnu ngunyi gadda wawa-rni ngunya-ardi
have-HAB 3sg.ACC.m give PURP child-FOC give-HAB

bundundurru-mardi.
sated-HAB
'She brought caterpillars and so forth and brought them to give to her children for food.'

³ Note the appearance of /-nu/ (glossed 'did') on *jakardirni* ('mother') in this example. Morphemes typically used to mark tense (along with aspect, mood, and associated motion), and analysed in this grammar as verbal heads (see Chapter 3), sometimes appear on nominals with deictic function. This is discussed in §6.2.4.

7.4 Burrmurumura (Hornets)

— told by Yikalamba Robin Woods Jangaringinja

This text was recorded in a house in Elliott during the dry season of 1996.

Burrmurumura-rni manalku-rni ngilma-rdi marru-mbili darrangku-mbili.
 hornet-ERG mud-FOC make-HAB house-LOC tree-LOC
 'Hornets build their mud hives in houses or in trees.'

Marlarluka-rni ngaja-marriyimi burrmurumura 'aah' ankarni,
 old.men-ERG see-DIST hornet 'aah' say⁴
 'When olden-time folk would see hornets they'd say "Aah!"'

'Burrmurumura-rni dardu, ibilka-rni ya-ju, kilyirri-ngurri-yi!'
 hornet-FOC many water-FOC 3sg-do dig-1pl.Inc-FUT
 "'There are lots of hornets, there must be water, lets dig!'"

7.5 Environmental changes

— various short texts by Yikalamba Robin Woods Jangaringinja

This text is compiled from a number of different occasions when Robin told me about changes that had occurred to the flora and fauna of the area. He told me these things while I was eliciting and checking vocabulary entries for the dictionary (Pensalfini in preparation), in various locations in Elliott during the dry seasons of 1995 and 1996.

Marluka-rni yukulurrubi-rni dirri-ngirru-marriyimi.
 old.man-ERG grass.sp-FOC eat-1pl.Exc-DIST
 'We old folks used to go and eat the *yukulurrubi* grass.'

Ya-marriyimi marlarluka-rni-rni dirri-ngirri-wardi ya-marri
 3sg-DIST old.men-ERG-FOC eat-1pl.Exc-HAB 3sg-DIST

marlarluka-niki-rni.
 old.men-PROX-ERG
 'We olden time folk would go and eat it.'

⁴ This form is probably Mudburra or Warlpiri—the narrator being a speaker of both.

Yukulurrubi-rni ya-marri jababurra angkula ya-marri ngini-mbili-rni.
 grass.sp-FOC 3sg-DIST first(RED) NEG 3sg-DIST here-FOC
 'The yukulurrubi grass used to grow here in olden times.'

Marranybala-rni juju-mbili-rni duwa-marriyimi yukulurrubi-rni darra-ardi.
 cow-ERG rain-LOC-FOC rise-DIST grass.sp-FOC eat-HAB
 'But the cows ate it when it grew in the wet season.'

Marranybala-kaji ya-ju yuranya-kaji ya-ardi danykuw-kaji.
 cow-through 3sg-do many-through 3sg-HAB bump-through
 'Huge numbers of cattle came and trampled out the grass.'

Marranybala darra-ardu ngurraku ya-marri burrbiji kuwarrku-kaji
 cow eat-go 1pl.Inc.ACC 3sg-DIST finish none-through

ngurraku duwa-ardi kuwarrku-kaji.
 1pl.Inc.ACC rise-HAB none-through
 'The cows have come and eaten it all on us and none is left growing here at all.'

Ngindaniki jurdumajurduma-rni, jalyangku-nama-kaji angkula ngaja-marri
 this(m) finch-FOC now-time-through NEG see-DIST

marlarluka-rni.
 old.men-ERG
 'The finch, nowadays it's not seen by us old folks anymore.'

Marlarluka-rni-mbili, numu ya-marri, jurdumajurduma angkula ngarnu
 old.men-FOC-LOC NEG 3sg-DIST finch NEG 3sg.ACC.m

ngiji-ngirri-wardi.
 see-1pl.Exc-HAB
 'In the old days we saw the finch, but no longer.'

Nginaniki-rni jurnkurrubilyi-rni ya-marri.
 this(f)-FOC ghost.bat-FOC 3sg-DIST
 'The ghost bat was around once.'

Ngaliminymini, bilkina dardu ngiji-ngurru-wardi.
 small.bat flying.fox many see-1pl.Inc-HAB
 'Small bats and flying foxes we see plenty of.'

Angkula ngiji-ngurru-wardi jurnkurrubilyi-rni.
 NEG see-1pl.Inc-HAB ghost.bat-FOC
 'But we don't see ghost bats.'

Kuwarrrku-kaji angkula ya-ardi kijijimarrini ngini-mbili, ya-marri
 none-through NEG 3sg-HAB brahminy here 3sg-DIST

marlarluka-rni-mbili.

old.men-FOC-LOC

‘There are no brahminy kites here now, though there were in days of old.’

Angkula ya-marri-rni nginimbili-rni-kaji ngiji-ngirri-wardi
 NEG 3sg-DIST-FOC here-FOC-through see-1pl.Exc-HAB

ngurrujurruka-rni,

hardhead-FOC

‘We have not seen the hardhead duck around here for a very long time,’

Ya-marri marlarluka-rni-mbili.

3sg-DIST old.men-FOC-LOC

‘It was around in the old days.’

Kuwarrrku-kaji ngarnu jalyangkuya-mi.
 none-through 3sg.ACC.m now-IRR

‘Not at all nowadays.’

Angkula ngaja-ngaja-nga-ardi, angkula-kaji ngiji-ngurru-wardi.
 NEG see-RED-1sg-HAB NEG-through see-1pl.Inc-HAB

‘I never see it, we don’t see it at all.’

Marlarluka-rni-mbili ya-marri.

old.men-FOC-LOC 3sg-DIST

‘In the olden days they were around.’

7.6 Making implements

— told by Kijilikarri Jumbo Collins Jamirringinja and Clancy Bostock Jangalinginja

This text was recorded at *Warranganku* (Beetaloo out-station) during the dry season of 1995. Clancy and Jumbo were making various wooden implements as they talked.

JC: *Wurrajkala-ngkujku ningki-ngurri-yi barrku, kundalnga-darra fourbala*
 cold-HAVING chop-1pl.Inc-FUT nulla.nulla clapstick-pl four

ningki-ngurri-yi.

chop-1pl.Inc-FUT

‘When it cools down we’ll cut a nulla-nulla and four clapsticks.’

CB: *Jalyangku-rru nginiwarra ngurra-rruku karnawunji-ngka. Marndaj-na*
 today-RRA this.way 1pl.Inc-went lancewood-ALL OK-now

Jula.

skin.name⁵

'We went that way to get the lancewood. Right *Jula* ?'

Nyanyala-ngkujku, ningki-ngurru-wa, darra-ngka-nu-kaji, biyijala.
 leaf-HAVING chop-1pl.Inc-will.go eat-ALL-did-through tall(m)
 'This leafy one that we'll cut, the tall one, was all eaten out.'

Kirda darrangku nyinma-kaji nangka-nu murrurru dabil-ajka-ala,
 father tree gather-through chop-did stripe hold-NOML(P)

ngamba ...

PURP

'Father gathered the branches and now he's made these striped ones to hold.
 For ...'

Ngamba aja-nayi karriba maya-yi.
 PURP what-INDEF whitefella hit-FUT
 'Something for the white guy to clap together.'

JC: *Yo marndaj, ngamba karriba maya-yi. Marndaj*
 yes OK PURP whitefella hit-FUT OK
 'Yeah, that's right, so the white guy here can clap them. Right.'

Ngininika-rru yirra-ma-ga-yi ala-ga-ngku nyamba-kuwurlu
 this(n)-RRA make-1sg-FUT dance-1sg-will.come DEM(n)-dl

kundalnga.

clapstick

'I'll make this stuff and then I'll dance to the clapping of the two sticks.'

Ngurru-rruku nangka-ga-nu.
 1pl.Inc-went cut-1sg-did
 'We went and I cut clapsticks.'

[plays sticks] *Nyami-rna nga-wa bibi, marndaj?*
 DEM(m)-FOC 1sg-will.go son.VOC OK
 [plays sticks] 'I'll do that son, OK?'

⁵ Jumbo is addressing me using the Mudburra skin-name *Jula* (= Jingulu *Jurlinginja*). See note 1.

Jangalinginji-rni nangka-ju barrku. Ilma-ju.
 skin.name-ERG cut-do nulla.nulla make-do
 'Jangala is cutting a nulla-nulla. He's making it.'

Ngayirni ngirrma-nga-ju nyininiki.
 1sg.ERG make-1sg-do this(n)
 'I'll make these.'

Ngaja-nga-yi nganku, karriba. [sings]
 see-1sg-FUT 2sg.ACC whitefella
 'I'm looking at you, whitefella.' [sings]

Ambaya-mi!
 speak-IRR
 'Talk!'

JC: *Ngarlika yirrma-nga-nu, nginda-ya-rna karnawunji barrku.*
 spear.thrower make-1sg-did that(m)-???-FOC lancewood nulla.nulla
 'I made a spearthrower and that lancewood nulla-nulla.'

Ngilma-ju kuka-la-rni, ngarri-na ngambiya. Marndaj?
 make-do grandfather-pl?-ERG 1sg.GEN-m son.in.law OK
 'Grandfather is making it, my son-in-law. Right?'

Kuka ngaanku.
 grandfather 2sg.ACC
 'Your grandfather.'

Ird bija-rru nga-ju-nga jurrujurruj bila-nga-ju ngarnu.
 smoothen-RRR 1sg-do-FOC smoothen-1sg-do 3sg.m.ACC
 'I'm making it smooth.'

Jurrujurruj bila-nga-ju ngini-rni burduburdu.
 smoothen-1sg-do that(n)-FOC rasp
 'Smoothing it with the rasp.'

7.7 Translation of a Mudburra Hunting Story

— translated into Jingulu by Nabijinnginju Ulamari

The original Mudburra hunting story was in a file of Jingulu and Mudburra materials, held by the Education Department in Tennant Creek, that had previously been used in the Elliott school as part of a culture and language course. Mrs Ulamari translated the story at her home in Elliott during the dry season of 1995. She was shown pictures

accompanying the story and translated the Mudburra, which I read aloud to her, sentence by sentence.

Nginda-bila-niki wunyu-rruku ngirriki warlanja-rna.
 DEM(m)-dl.anim-PROX 3dl-went hunting goanna-DAT
 'These two went hunting for goannas.'

Ibilka kandirri ngibi-wunya-rdu bundurru, ngib-unya-rdu walanja-rna
 water damper have-3dl-go food have-3dl-go goanna-DAT

ngirriki.
 hunting
 'They took damper and water for food when they went hunting for goannas.'

Warlaku ngibi-wunyu-wardu walanja maja ngirriki.
 dog have-3dl-go goanna get hunt
 'These two took a goanna dog hunting.'

Nginda-rni bininja banybila ibilka, walanja-rna ngaja-rruku yunku-rna.
 DEM-ERG man find water goanna-DAT see-went print-DAT
 'The men, finding a water-hole, went looking for goanna tracks.'

Warlaku-rni banybila-nu walanja, duw-ardu yunku, nyinda ngawu-ngka.
 dog-ERG find-did goanna rise-go print DEM(m) home-ALL
 'The dog found a goanna track leading toward a hole.'

Nyinda-bili-rni banybili-wunyu-nu ngawu-ngka langan baka-ju ngawu
 DEM-dl.anim-ERG find-3dl-did home-ALL dig-do home

walanja-rna.
 goanna-DAT
 'The two people found the hole and started digging into the goanna's burrow.'

Walanja banybila-nu urr maja-kaji nyindi ngawu-ngkami.
 goanna find-did pull-through DEM(m) home-ABL
 'They started pulling the goanna right out of its hole.'

Walanja banybila-nu kujkarrarni urr miji-wunyu-ju nyindi ngawu-ngkami.
 goanna find-did two(m) pull-3dl-do DEM home-ABL
 'The two of them started pulling it out of its hole.'

Maya-kaji wunyu-ju walanja-rni, warlaku dajba-nu wunyaku,
kill-through 3dl-do goanna-FOC dog bite-did 3dl.ACC⁶

darrangku-warndi miyi-wunyu-ju.
stick-INST hit-3dl-do

'They started killing the goanna, the dog bit them, they hit it with sticks.'

'Bujbu-kaji ngirrmi-ngurri-yi lakuj bili-ngurru walanja-rna.'
earth.oven-through make-1pl.Inc-FUT bury-1pl.Inc goanna-DAT
'"We'll dig an earth-oven to cook the goanna." [they said]'

7.8 Making a fire and cooking

— told by Kijilikarri Jumbo Collins Jamirringinja

This text was recorded in the scrub near *Warranganku* (Beetaloo out-station) during the dry season of 1995. Jumbo and I were having lunch in a clearing.

Buba maja-mi! Ngirrma-nga-nu, ngangi-rna buba.
firewood get-IRR make-1sg-did meat-DAT fire
'Get some wood. I've made a fire for meat.'

Nganga umbuma-nga-yi. Marndaj-nayi, ngamurlu buba-rni.
meat cook-1sg-FUT OK-INDEF big(n) firewood-FOC
'I'll cook some meat. OK now, that should be plenty of wood.'

File maji-ma nga-nu, number 7 ilma-nga-yi.
file get-EMPH 1sg-did number.7.boomerang make-1sg-FUT
'I got a file to make a "number 7" boomerang.'

Dilmi-mindi-yi nganga.
cut-1dl.Inc-FUT meat
'We two will cut the meat.'

Ibirrka nyini-mbili darra-nya-yi?
beer here eat-2sg-FUT
'Will you drink beer here?'

⁶ The use of *wunyaku*, the dual object pronoun, is unexplained here. It is probably a speech error. However, this is retained in the translation.

Karnawunji-mbili mindi-ju. Karnawunji, warlumbu.
 lancewood-LOC 1dl.Inc-do lancewood bullwaddy
 'We're in lancewood scrub. Lancewoods and bullwaddies.'

Ngimbija ningki-rra-wardi, lawunja— blanga wawa, warlumbu-wunu.
 corkwood chop-RRR-HAB coolamon P.DAT child bullwaddy-pl?
 'The corkwood is cut to make coolamons—for children, bullwaddies too.'

Yarrungkurrumi! Ngaba-ju yarrungkurrumi karnawunji-mbili ya-ju.
 vine.sp have-do vine.sp lancewood-LOC 3sg-do
 'Yarrungkurrumi! There's Yarrungkurrumi vine on that lancewood.'

Darrangku yilma-nga-ju ngang-rna, irrinjuma-nga-yi nganga.
 stick put-1sg-do meat-DAT turn-1sg-FUT meat
 'I'm getting a stick for the meat, so I can turn the meat.'

Arduka-nama dulyuly ya-yi buba, umbuma-kaji nga-yi nganga.
 last die.down 3sg-FUT fire cook-through 1sg-FUT meat
 'Once that fire's died down, I'll cook the meat.'

Lalija ilma-nga-yi-ma ngunya-ana-nku.
 tea put-1sg-FUT-EMPH give-1O-REFL
 'I'll put the tea in too. Make us some tea.'

Darra-nya-nu nganga-rni, Jurlinginja?
 eat-2sg-did meat-FOC skin
 'Did you eat meat, Julia ?'

Bundurra-kaji nga-ju.
 full(m)-through 1sg-do
 'I'm full up.'

Nganga darra-nga-nu, lalija-kaji darra-nga-ju.
 meat eat-1sg-did tea-through eat(drink)-1sg-do
 'I ate meat, now I'm drinking up my tea.'

Umbumu-nga-nu karnawunji-mbili linyarda, nganga umbumu-nga-nu.
 cook-1sg-did lancewood-LOC coal meat cook-1sg-did
 'I cooked on lancewood coals, I cooked meat.'

Bardakurra-ju nganga darra-nga-nu.
 good(m)-do meat eat-1sg-did
 'I ate well of the meat.'

Durrb kuji-nga-na-nku-ju durrb kuji, ngajalakurru.
 poke-1sg-1O?-REFL-do poke tooth
 'Now I'm cleaning my teeth (with a toothpick).'

Ila-mi ibirrka murdika-ngka!
 put-IRR water car-ALL
 'Put the water in the car.'

Mindi-wa kiniwarra, Warranganku ngalarli, nangka-nka-yi warlumbu,
 1dl.Inc-will.go north Beetaloo hither chop-REFL-FUT bullwaddy

kurrubardu.
 boomerang
 'Now we'll go north this way to Beetaloo, where we'll cut ourselves a
 bullwaddy boomerang.'

Marndaj?
 OK
 'OK?'

7.9 Bring me food!

— told by Kijilikarri Jumbo Collins Jamirringinja, with Ngarrandarra Rob Pensalfini Jurlingina.⁷

The following exchange was recorded at Marlinja during November 1998. It is in a creolised lect with a lot of code switching, and displays many of the properties of such a style described in §1.1.4. It accurately represents the way that I conversed daily with many of the older Jingili, and they with one another.

JC: *Ngijinmi!*
 tail
 'Tail!'

RP: *Is this from jarrumulu-ngkami?*
 is this from leg-ABL
 'Is this from the leg?'

⁷ Not a native speaker.

JC: *No! Ngijinmi.*
no tail
'No, the tail.'

[to granddaughter] *Dika! ngijinmi! Bring-im-ap wanbala jarrumulu!*
fat tail bring-TR-up one leg
[to granddaughter] 'Fat! Tail! Bring a leg too!'

RP: *Bardakurra nganga, yuwayi!*
good(m) meat yes
'This is good meat all right!'

JC: *Jarrumulu ngaba!*
leg get
'Get a leg!'

Salt ngunya-mi kanya ngaanku!
salt give-IRR uncle 2sg.ACC
'Give your uncle salt!'

Ngiji-jil!
see-NEG.IMPV
'Don't stand around gawking!'

Jarrumulu ngaba plate-warndi that dika! Darra-nga-yi!
leg have plate-INST that fat eat-1sg-FUT
'Get a leg! Put the fat on a plate! I want to eat!'

Kaji kardakarda ngaba! Ngamurla!
through bone have big(m)
'It has a really big bone.'

7.10 Bunarna Ngirriki Ngurruwardu (Hunting for Ashes)

— told by Miminyngali Eileen Peterson-Cooper Nangalinginju

This text, in the Kuwarrangu dialect of Jingulu, was collected near Kirnbiningku (south-southeast of Elliott) during the dry season of 1995.

Jiminiki-rni buna-rni maya-nga-nu, angkula nyambala ya-mu ngarru
 this(n)-FOC ash-FOC hit-1sg-did NEG DEM(n) 3sg-did 1sg.GEN

kiwirra.

none

'I got this ash because I didn't have any more left.'

Angkula bardawurra jiminiki-rni kiwirra.

NEG good(m) this(n)-FOC none

'But this stuff is no good at all.'

I mait go aut an yuno, I mait luk langa road.
 I might go out and you.know I might look P road

Gudwan-gudwan, yuno, tri.
 good-RED you.know tree

'I might go out along the road and look for a decent tree.'

Ngininiki-rni ngawu-mbili umangku.

this(n)-FOC home-LOC dreaming

'This is dreaming country.'

Angkula maya-nga-yi umangku-darra, buna-rna.

NEG hit-1sg-FUT dreaming-pl ash-DAT

'I won't go for ashes in dreaming countries.'

Ngini-niki darrangku miji-ngirri-wardi bardardawurru darrangku.

this(n) tree get-1pl.Exc-HAB good-RED(n) tree

'This is the kind of tree we usually get, it's really good.'

7.11 Kamamurra Marluka (The Old Blind Man)

— told by Yikalamba Robin Woods Jangaringinja

This text was recorded in a house in Elliott during the dry season of 1996.

Bundurru-nu umbuma-mi ngarnu jami-rna-rni
 food-did cook-IRR 3sg.ACC.m that(m)-DAT-FOC

marluka-rna-rni, bundundurru marriya.
 old.man-DAT-FOC food(RED) soft

'Would you cook that old man some food, some tucker please.'

Angkula wumbuma-ardi kamamurra.
 NEG cook-HAB blind(m)
 He can't cook because he's blind.'

Kamamurra jama-rni marluka-rni narnangaja-rriyi, biyurla-rru-rni,
 blind(m) that(m)-ERG old.man-ERG look.around-will.go son-RRA-FOC

kaminjarra kula-rra-rni.
 grandson nephew-RRA-FOC
 'That old blind man is looking about, for his children, perhaps his grandchildren or nephews.'

Kaminjarra kula-yi-rni ngarnu ngaja-na-rriyi bundundurru
 grandson nephew-FUT-FOC 3sg.m.ACC see-1O-will.go food(RED)

marliya.
 sick
 'Those grandkids and nephews look after our feeding when we are sick.'

Ngini-rni bundurru ngaba-nga-rriyi ngarnu ngindi-rna
 that(n)-FOC food have-1sg-will.go 3sg.m.ACC that(m)-DAT

marluka-rna.
 old.man-DAT
 'I'll take some food to that old man.'

Bubuji-rna marluka-rna ngaba-nga-rriyi ngarnu
 grey.haired(m)-DAT old.man-DAT have-1sg-will.go 3sg.m.ACC

bundurru-mu ngunya-nga-rriyi, ngamba-yi manyan ka-yi bundundurra.
 food-did give-1sg-will.go PURP-FUT sleep 3sg-FUT sated(m)
 'I'll take this food over and give it to the old white-haired man so that he can have a sleep once he's full up.'

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